The Outlook

JULY 18, 1917

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE IN GALICIA

The capture of the city of Halicz, on July 10, was a signal triumph for the Russian army. It had previously been stated that in the advance toward Halicz Russian forces under General Korniloff (and, of course, under the supreme command of General Brusiloff) had pushed back the Austrian army some sixteen miles, and that between July 2 and July 8 General Korniloff had taken fourteen thousand prisoners. This is in addition to many thousand prisoners taken in the earlier Russian drives at Koniuchy, Brzezany, and Stanislau. Halicz is sixty-three miles southeast of Lemberg, the capital of the Austrian province of Galicia, and has always been considered a notably strong fortified place. It is also a railway center. It is the natural point from which an advance toward Lemberg can best be carried on.

Whether the ultimate object of General Brusiloff—namely, the fall of Lemberg—follows or not, the continuing and resolute fighting of the reorganized Russian army is significant. It is more determined than the most optimistic war writers had dared to expect. London despatches, for instance, declare that "throughout the whole offensive the Russian army has shown itself in admirable condition." This is beyond question due to the marvelous ability of General Brusiloff in first convincing his soldiers that the war against Germany must be pushed hard and pushed now, and, secondly, in acting with a large strategical conception and supplying ample munitions. This is shown conclusively by the fact that the Russian offensive was not a sporadic attack at one point or even in one field. The first attack, at Koniuchy, was followed by a second offensive far to the north against the German position at Pinsk. Before the surprise of this had passed away came the offensive against Stanislau, south and a little east of Lemberg. Finally, what seems to be the strongest and most important movement of all is the irresistible attack, also southeast of Lemberg, aimed directly at Halicz.

What the Russians have accomplished in the military field tends to confirm the statement from General Hugh Scott, of our Army, now in Russia, "The Russian army is going to fight. The spirit among the troops everywhere is excellent." It also agrees with Mr. Root's statement cabled from Petrograd on July 10 through the Associated Press: "We found no organic or incurable malady in the Russian democracy. . . . We must remember that a people in whom all constructive effort has been suppressed for so long cannot immediately develop a genius for quick action. . . . The solid, admirable traits in the Russian character will pull the nation through the present crisis. . . . The country's most serious lack is money and adequate transportation. We shall do what we can to help Russia in both."

RUSSIA'S REPORT ON HER OWN CONDITION

The Russian Premier, Prince Lvoff, has given to a correspondent of the Associated Press an interview on present conditions in Russia which is of considerable interest.

The cautious reader should recognize the fact that no Premier will give to the press any statements concerning his country which, in his judgment, would be injurious to its welfare. We must expect optimism in such an interview, and perhaps must even discount somewhat the statements of fact which it contains, since it is never easy to distinguish with accuracy between facts and opinions.

The Premier recognizes by implication the perilous pacific spirit which temporarily paralyzed the Russian army, but declares that the present advance confirms information from observers on the spot that the offensive spirit is spreading. The army's supply of munitions and other necessaries is better than last year. The greatest difficulty of Russia is in the imperfection of her transport system. This is an evil heritage from the old régime which it is impossible to correct in three months, crowded as they have been with revolutionary activities. "Our great hope," he says, "of speedy improvement lies with the Stevens railway commission (the American commission of engineers), from which we expect much." The food problem as well as the military problem waits on an improvement of transportation. The crops promise to be adequate for the nation's need, though the importation of additional agricultural machinery from America is greatly to be desired. "The irrational elements, such as the Anarchists and Bolsheviki, are in such a minority that there is no reason to fear their getting the upper hand." In a single paragraph the Russian Prime Minister summarizes the political and social reforms which have been accomplished within a few weeks of the collapse of the bureaucratic Government. They include "complete liberty of person, speech, press, meeting, and religion," and other detailed reforms in the local governments, in education, taxation, and church order and authority. Upon these specifications, however, greater information is needed before the reader can be assured of their permanent significance and value. For the settlement of fundamental questions in the organization of the Empire the nation necessarily waits for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly in October next.

The Prime Minister closes with an expression of his heartiest satisfaction at the visit of the Root Mission and his appreciation of the ability with which Mr. Root has grasped the essential facts in the complicated condition of the Russian people which confronted him.

THE AIR ATTACK ON LONDON

London, on July 7, endured what is reported as the greatest air raid yet suffered. Twenty-two German airplanes were engaged in the attack on the city. The official announcement records the killing of a total of twenty-eight people in London and on the coast and the injuring of 141. The invaders lost nine airplanes during the progress of their attack and their return to their own lines.

Naturally enough, this raid on London, which seems to have resulted in little material damage even though it did result in the injuring or killing of some seventy-four women and children, has aroused in England a demand for reprisals in kind on German soil. It is, of course, a temptation to fight savagery with savagery.

The New York "Tribune" quotes an Allied airman as writing: "I wonder if the people who talk of reprisals realize how many raids our flying corps carry out on all the German bases, etc., nearly every day. Personally I hope they will stick to that much more useful and honorable work and not search for German women and children." Such a statement is, we believe, fully in accord with the soberest British and American sentiment. We trust that America would still hold to this policy even if her cities instead of those of her English ally were subject to such wanton and ruthless attack.

In ruthless warfare the Allies cannot hope, even if they would, to outrival Germany. Let us confine our efforts to those legitimate methods of warfare by which alone the war can be won.

Germany in raiding English towns and cities has proved a powerful help to England's determination. Humanitarian considerations aside, let us not commit the same military blunder.

Lloyd George, in discussing the attack on London before

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the House of Commons, gave adequate reasons why London could not be given complete immunity from airplane attack. He said:

> The first consideration before the Government was to insure that the army in France was supplied sufficiently with airplanes. They were the army's eyes, without which it was impossible to advance. To photograph the enemy's works required air supremacy, and without that supremacy it was sheer murder to allow troops to advance.
>
> The twenty-eight fatal casualties suffered by the civilian population in the last raid were very regrettable, but unless the troops at the front were supplied with sufficient airplanes to secure proper knowledge of the German trenches and positions and to guide their artillery barrage their losses might easily be, not 28, but 28,000. . . .
>
> Nothing could be more disastrous to military operations than to encourage the Germans to believe that they could by these raids excite such a clamor in this country that the Government would be unable to resist the demand for the withdrawal of airplanes from the front.

Such a statement as this should lend impetus to America's efforts to help our allies gain at the earliest possible moment complete supremacy in the air. The best reprisal is to win the war.

THE POLITICAL TENSION IN GERMANY

The news of the week ending July 11 relating to the political agitation and uncertainty in Germany indicates, not that a revolution such as took place in Russia is at hand, but that the less autocratic elements and leaders in Germany are making an impression on the irreconcilables in the inner circle of the German Government. These despatches come directly from the neutral countries bordering Germany (Holland, Switzerland, and Denmark), but they unquestionably have a basis of fact behind them. One statement attributed to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg by a correspondent at Berne, who asserts that he finds his authority in Berlin newspapers, declares that the Chancellor denied the rumor that he was about to resign, and boldly proclaimed: "The formula of peace without annexations is unacceptable to us. We cannot declare our terms of peace. We must fight and conquer."

This utterance was in all probability called out by the surprising address made just previously by Matthias Erzberger, the leader of the radical branch of the Catholic Centrists in the Reichstag. He advocated the idea of peace without annexations or indemnities, and showed little regard for the keynote of the autocratic German power—that is, the insistence on German predominance in Middle Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Other signs of perturbation among those in power in Germany have been the hurried conferences between the Kaiser, the Chancellor, General von Hindenburg, and General Ludendorff, and the repeated rumors that resignations are soon to come from Herr Zimmermann, the Foreign Minister, and Dr. Karl Helfferich, the Vice-Chancellor. Herr Zimmermann's resignation will be welcomed in the United States because of his authorship of the hostile and foolish attempt to incite Mexico and Japan against the United States, and because of his utter lack of any international moral sense or care for considerations of humanity.

These things, and the comments of German papers, certainly indicate great political tension in Germany. They are more important in their ultimate possibilities than the so far abortive efforts to amend the German political constitution and to make the Reichstag more representative. As has been pointed out in this journal in articles written by Mr. Paul W. Brown and Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick and editorially, any effort to make representation in the Reichstag more democratic and fairer, while admirable in itself, would not in the least change the rigid control over German affairs, internal and external, resting in the Bundesrath (the members of which are appointed, not elected), which has an absolute veto power over the Reichstag, or the equally rigid power exercised by the Emperor and his Chancellor over the Ministry.

The peoples who are engaged in the struggle against Prussianism should be now more than ever on their guard against any plan on the part of Prussian leaders to disguise their intentions by a display of acquiescence in democratic reform while holding fast to the substance of irresponsible power.

THE BRITISH LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

Within the past few weeks there have been authoritative expressions of opinion favorable to a permanent organization of nations to insure peace.

On May 14, 1917, the British League of Nations was enthusiastically indorsed in a resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting attended by some twelve hundred representative men under Lord Bryce's presidency. The other speakers were the Archbishop of Canterbury, General Smuts, Baron Buckmaster, Lord Hugh Cecil, and Viscount Harcourt. The particular feature of this meeting was Lord Buckmaster's advocacy of Germany's inclusion in the proposed League, an advocacy which was greeted by applause. He said truly that if Germany was not included the League would be only a league against Germany; and he might have added that already the civilized world is practically in league against Germany now. The British League to Enforce Peace differs from the American League to Enforce Peace in that it provides for the protection of every member of the League from military attack, whether by another member or by an outsider. This movement for international peace by international organization has had another indorsement from France, where, in the Chamber of Deputies, the leader of the Socialists has demanded of Premier Ribot that he engage immediately in concerted action with President Wilson looking to the formation of a Society of Nations, and has received the reply from the Premier, "I will consider it an honor to enter into conversation with President Wilson on that subject."

Doubtless the energies of the Allies should be concentrated on their joint plans to defeat Germany, and they should not allow anything to divert them from that purpose. But agreeing upon terms of peace is necessary to a prosecution of the war to its conclusion, since terms of peace are necessary to any conclusion of the war. And the world will not, and ought not to, be satisfied with any terms which do not involve at least some hope of a peace that will be permanent. Moreover, the cordial cooperation of the Socialists, especially those of France and Russia, can be secured only by an agreement to consider with them plans for providing against a recurrence of a world war. A legitimate parallel to the apothegm, "In time of peace prepare for war," is, "In time of war prepare for peace."

THE CONTROL OF EXPORTS TO NEUTRALS

As our draft of soldiers is called a selective draft, so the proposed embargo on exports to neutrals may be called selective. What the President has done is to proclaim that hereafter all exports from the United States of grain, meat, fuel, steel, and other commodities of use in warfare shall be controlled by means of licenses to be issued under regulations to be made by the Secretary of Commerce. The long list of countries to which this applies includes our allies, but naturally the important bearing is as to neutral nations, and especially to Holland and Scandinavia. By the licensing system the embargo may be varied as to extent, and changed from time to time so as to avoid unreasonable hardship.

In explaining the purpose of the proclamation the President points out that it is aimed primarily at conserving our food and other fundamental supplies (particularly before the new crops come in), and then makes this excellent statement about our duty as regards exports to other countries:

> It is obviously the duty of the United States in liberating any surplus products over and above our own domestic needs to consider first the necessities of all the nations engaged in war against the Central Empires. As to neutral nations, however, we also recognize our duty. The Government does not wish to hamper them. On the contrary, it wishes and intends, by all fair and equitable means, to co-operate with them in their difficult task of adding from our available surpluses to their own domestic supply and of meeting their pressing necessities or deficits. In conserving the deficits of food supplies its Government means only to fulfill its obvious obligations to assure itself that neutrals are husbanding their own resources and that our supplies will

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not become available, either directly or indirectly, to feed the enemy.

Whatever view is taken of the trade rights between neutral countries, it can hardly be questioned that, now that we are at war, the principles above stated are sound and just. Much as we sympathize with the deprivation and even distress which exist in Holland and Sweden, not the United States, but the lawless German warfare, is responsible for that condition. The only way out is to use every legal method to put down that world tyranny, and thereby restore free seas and free commerce.

Nothing is clearer than that a promise by a neutral country adjoining Germany not to sell to Germany war material received from the United States is of not the least avail provided the neutral country continues to sell her own product of the same kind. For instance, a recent report to our Government points out that Sweden, which has always been a large exporter of iron ores, is now selling more ore to Germany than she used to sell to the whole world, and is meanwhile importing iron ore from the United States. So with wheat; if Holland imports abnormal quantities from this country, she may sell her own product to Germany. That some neutrals abused their trade privileges was shown conclusively a year ago or more in the British official statements quoted at the time in The Outlook. An improvement has been made—partly voluntary, perhaps, but chiefly due to the British repressive measures. Assurances of still greater restrictions over trade with Germany have been promised by neutral countries, unofficially, and it may rest largely on the course they take whether licenses may be expanded or closely limited. The Dutch Minister in the United States, the Chevalier van Rappard, urges that Holland needs grain sorely, as it has to take care, not only of its own population, but of thousands of interned soldiers and thousands of Belgian refugees. Formerly Holland raised large quantities of wheat, but economists argued that it was better to buy wheat and raise more profitable perishable crops. But when the war came both the wheat supply and the sale of the perishable crops by export were all but cut off. The Minister adds: "We are suffering a great deal and shall go on suffering, but even this is better than war." Perhaps it is if economic reasons only are considered; but there are higher reasons which may yet prevail in Holland if the opportunity to strike a good blow for the world's liberty occurs.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, favors adding to the Food Control Bill a provision prohibiting, under penalty of a $10,000 fine or five years' imprisonment, or both, any sale to the Government of supplies by Government agents or advisers if they have a personal, financial interest in the supplies.

This proposal, if made law, would legislate the civilian members of the Council of National Defense out of office. Those civilians, at the heads of the various boards of the Council, are men of experience in trade and transportation and are interested in business enterprises. But just because they are interested they have, we believe, been specially scrupulous in all contracts.

The other day there was an outbreak in the Senate against the president of a manufacturing concern because he is also acting in an advisory capacity in the Council of National Defense. According to the testimony read, this person's crime was that of offering contracts to the Government, for signature by department officials, for material at a third the price formerly charged to the Government. The price now charged was about two cents above the average for the last ten years, notwithstanding the great increase in the cost of labor and production. Yet the Senate was informed that "the trusts were mobilized at the headquarters of the Council of National Defense," and that "while the boys of the country are being mobilized in the military camps, these gentlemen who control products which the Government must use are making contracts for their own use, enrichment, and benefit."

As a matter of fact, with regard to price, the Council of National Defense has saved millions of money to the Government on its supply contracts, not only because of contracts in many cases self-denying, but also because of doing away, whenever necessary to save time, with the system of competitive bidding in the open market. In this way the Council has been able to indicate where orders should be placed for quick purchases of equipment and at prices nearly always below those which the wholesale buyer would have to pay, and giving only a fair margin of profit to the manufacturer, thus eliminating the dangers of price inflation which a Government project usually brings in its wake when bids are advertised in the open market. The purchasing bureaus of the Army and Navy Departments fully appreciate this improved situation.

The result has been (1) to the Government a saving of both time and money in providing supplies for a million soldiers; (2) to the Council no well-founded suspicion of graft, and a general verdict of having done at least as much as any other agency to put the Nation in its present condition of preparedness; finally (3), to the public no material increase in price as a result of Government purchases. All this is certainly a contrast from the old slipshod days of "unloading on the Government"—the days of rotten contracts in times of National emergency.

But suppose some contracts now entered into, as being the best under the circumstances in order to avoid fatal delays, are later found to carry excessive prices. The Council has inserted into some contracts naming prices for goods to be delivered to the Government a clause making them subject to revision pending a more accurate ascertainment of costs. Thus a safeguard is established to prevent undue advantage to any contractor. Besides, Congress, by its taxing power, can recoup itself.

In our opinion, the attack in the Senate upon the business men who have been serving the Government on the Council of National Defense, without a cent of pay, gladly giving their own time and strength to the task, is to some extent the attempt to gain political advantage at the expense of a willing mobilization of the country's resources and personnel. We are glad, therefore, to learn that President Wilson does not approve of the addition proposed. In a letter to Senator McKellar the President justly declares that to lose the benefit of the expert advice of the civilian members of the Council would be a calamity.

A GOVERNMENTAL ROMANCE

The safe arrival of American troops on French soil has been a cause for tremendous rejoicing. It has also supplied cause for a widespread dissatisfaction with the manner in which this news was given to the American press.

Word of the arrival of the American troops came to the public through Mr. Creel's Committee on Public Information. Instead of giving to the press a simple paraphrase of the official telegrams (it is impossible, of course, to give out military messages in their original form because of the danger that this may help the spies who may have "listened in" on the original wireless to learn the secrets of our military code), Mr. Creel took it upon himself to issue a flamboyant, romantically worded account of a battle between our convoying war-ships and German U-boats "gathered for what they deemed a slaughter." The present situation is such that the country is still in very great doubt as to what really occurred, and as to how serious was the attack on our transports.

Mr. Creel's method of giving to the public this important item of news has impaired, if not destroyed, whatever confidence the country may have had in the statements issued by the Committee on Public Information, of which he is the head. At the time of his appointment there were many who doubted whether he was temperamentally fitted for his post. The newspapers and the writers of the country, as a whole, generously and charitably refrained from opposing his appointment in the hope, if not the faith, that he might prove to possess a sense of responsibility not previously demonstrated. Mr. Creel has had as long a trial as any man in the present situation has a right to demand.

TO THOSE REGISTERED FOR SELECTIVE SERVICE

The Provost Marshal has issued a circular notifying all registered men to hold themselves in readiness for appearance before the boards which will conduct examinations and consider exemptions.

All registration cards are to be numbered in series running

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from one to the number representing the total number of cards in each jurisdiction. From these numbers will be determined by lot the order in which registered persons are to be called by the various local boards. As soon as the drawing is complete, lists showing the order in which these numbers are drawn will be published in the press and will be posted at the office of each local board. All registered men are advised to acquaint themselves with the numbers which have been assigned to them and with the location of the office of the board with which they are enrolled.

Every man is expected to find out for himself the place and time of his physical examination and the process by which exemptions are to be made. Every individual registered is to be held responsible for securing information as to whether he has been drawn or not. As soon as each case is disposed of by the action of the examining physician and the many exemption boards, the Adjutant-General of each State will notify the men who have been selected for military service. Notice that a man has been selected for military service does not necessarily order such a man into immediate service. The notice to report will come when the Government is ready to receive those whom it has chosen.

THE RED CROSS

On Saturday, July 7, a committee from the Federal Council of Allied Charities, representing nearly a hundred relief agencies, unanimously accepted the invitation to co-operate with the American Red Cross. The last sign of opposition vanished when Judge Robert S. Lovett, of the Red Cross, made it clear that the Red Cross never contemplated the absolute absorption of the several independent organizations, but sought merely to bring about a concerted effort which would result in economy of time, labor, and expense. The co-operation he proposed will be in line with the ideas expressed by President Wilson on May 10, when, in creating the Red Cross War Council, he said: "The best way in which to impart the greatest efficiency and energy to the relief work which this war will entail will be to concentrate it in the hands of a single experienced organization which has been recognized by law and by international convention as the public instrumentality for such a purpose."

The Red Cross Co-operation Committee has published a memorandum, approved by the Red Cross War Council, which states that the National relief societies are to become National auxiliaries of the American Red Cross, and that each auxiliary is to retain its name and organization and carry on its present work in the United States. This means that an auxiliary may continue to raise funds in its own name as it has heretofore.

FALSE SOCIALISTS AND FALSE AMERICANS

By an overwhelming vote (21,639 to 2,752), enrolled members of the Socialist party have supported the majority of its Executive Committee in its condemnation of the war between the United States and Germany as the "most unjustifiable war in the history of the world." It was because of the policy of the Executive Committee that John Spargo resigned from the party, as we reported a month ago. In resigning Mr. Spargo declared that the Socialist party had been committed to a programme essentially pro-German.

Because of the vote of the members of the party in support of this programme Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes and his wife, Rose Pastor Stokes, have resigned. They declare that by its action the Socialist party "has recorded itself, to all practical intents, as unconcerned as to whether autocracy or democracy triumph in the issue of the war." They go further and denounce "the party's flagrant disregard nowadays of the methods of democracy." The position that the party has assumed is opposed by other prominent Socialists.

The explanation for the action which the Socialist party has taken is that to a very large degree in this country it has been founded and controlled by German Socialists who have very little sympathy with American ideals. Distrust of Socialism in the United States has been very largely, not so much a distrust of the principles and theories of Socialism on their own account, as the distrust of them because they have been advocated by people who are not in sympathy with the ideals of the country. The Socialist party has been largely a hyphenate party. Now it is showing itself to be such.

The effect of this vote ought to be wholesome. It will tend to segregate a considerable element in the population that is at heart un-American, and will place them under their true colors. It ought no longer to be possible for an un-American propaganda to be carried on under the guise of an economic doctrine.

HOW PARIS RECEIVED PERSHING

Cable despatches from Paris a month ago told of the arrival of General Pershing, the head of the American forces, to fight in France. Since then other despatches have told of the reception given to our troops as they have landed at a French port and have marched in Paris streets. No cable account, however, has the freshness of a personal experience. Such personal experience is told with simplicity and genuine feeling in a letter that has come to our notice from a young American college man in the ambulance service.

Like other Americans in service in France, he has been writing home of his impressions in a foreign country under military conditions. He describes the various kinds of service that men can render there, and discusses their relative importance. He reports the discussions as to the probable length of the war, declares that "there is not a man in the Allied armies who will not affirm that the Boche is a wonderful fighter," and assures his family that they "have no idea how the French are counting on us—not half or quarter as much for money as for men." But his delight in the beauty of Paris, which he is seeing for the first time, recurs, like a refrain, through his letters.

It is natural, therefore, that one who has been responding to the vividness of new sights in a foreign land, and of new experiences which are unprecedented in spite of the fact that others have had them, should be able to give the following picture:

> The big thing in my mind to-night is not that I am in Section ——, . . . but it is that I was present at one of the most wonderful demonstrations to-night that I ever hope to see. General Pershing and his staff arrived in Paris this evening, and the reception he got was simply wonderful. On all sides of the Opera-House thousands and thousands of people were massed, extending way up the Boulevard des Capucines and the Madeleine up to the Place de la Concorde. Up until the arrival of the motors the gendarmes were able to keep the crowd back, but once the long train of cars appeared the crowd closed right in so that it was almost impossible for them to move. It was all simply marvelous—such enthusiasm and excitement. You cannot possibly imagine, and I cannot half convey, the impression I should like to. All the women were passing flowers of various kinds at the cars, and the girl I was with threw a whole bouquet of roses into Pershing, who caught them and thanked her. If you can imagine some of this tumult you cannot possibly conceive of the riot when Joffre's car came along. It was just like bucking a stone wall for his chauffeur to make any progress at all. And after him such a glorious sight—the first American soldiers on French soil! They were, in fact, some little distance behind him and the crowd had begun to break up, thinking the parade was over. One sight of those trucks and C—— and I simply bolted across the square and up on to the running-boards. I can hardly remember what I said, for my heart was in my mouth, but I did *some* shaking of hands.

Such a description as this can leave no doubt as to the welcome our forces will have in France. The men who will be selected to go in those forces are of the favored of the earth.

Among those who have offered themselves for special duty and who have been accepted are the four sons of ex-President Roosevelt. The youngest, Quentin Roosevelt, is undergoing training as an aviator. The other three have been in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. Two of them—Major Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and Captain Archibald Roosevelt—are now in France, and Kermit Roosevelt (who was with his father on the African trip) has just accepted the opportunity of a commission in the British army for service in Mesopotamia. Dr. Richard Derby, the son-in-law of Mr. Roosevelt, is in the Medical Reserve. A son of ex-President Taft, Charles P. Taft, 2d, has enlisted in the Regular Army. Recently The Outlook printed the portraits of the sons of Cabinet members who are in military or naval service or undergoing training for such

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Carter in the Philadelphia Press

THE WINGED VICTORY

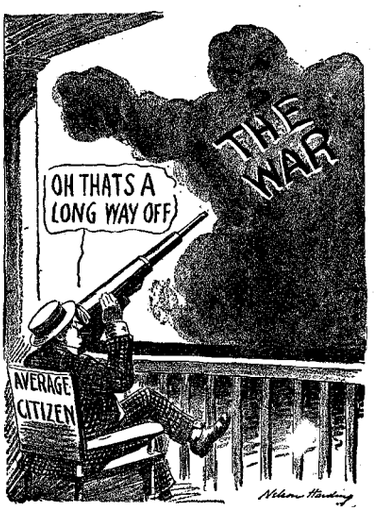
Cesare in the New York Evening Post

NEW RUSSIA—"PRESENT!"

Carter in the Philadelphia Press

"DON'T LISTEN, IT'S DANGEROUS"

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



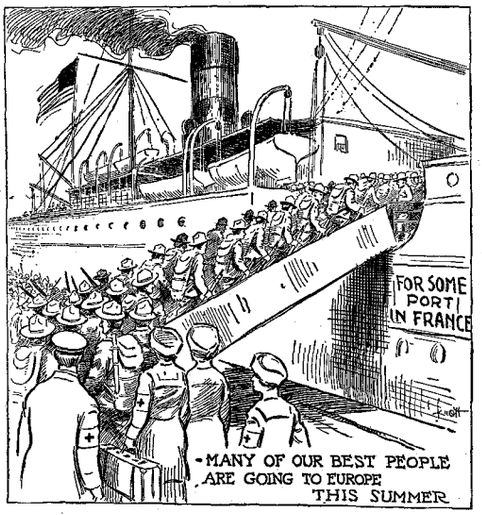
LOOKING THROUGH THE WRONG END

From London Opinion

The Kaiser (looking through the wrong end of the telescope): "Ten million Americans registered! They look another contemptible little army to me."

THE REVERSED TELESCOPE IN AMERICA AND GERMANY

Knott in the Dallas News



AMERICANS REALLY OUGHT TO SEE AMERICA FIRST, BUT—

Wright in the Milwaukee Leader

THE BURNING QUESTION

Gerda Wegener in La Baïonnette (Paris)

THE BLIND MEN (*after the well-known painting by Breughal*)

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service. Every such man is doing his part to justify the welcome that France has given to General Pershing and to our troops in France.

CHINA

The week ending July 11 was important in China's history. During that week the monarchist forces made a supreme effort to re-establish the throne. They were resisted by the forces of the Republic. These forces consisted of the Parliamentary party and the Cabinet party. The conflicting elements in the recent revolution had represented a triangular fight—the monarchists, the Parliamentarians, and the so-called Cabinet party; but now the monarchist group made the two other groups temporarily allies.

At first the monarchists, led by Chang Hsun, had a show of success, occupying Peking, the capital, and a wide district about it, and imprisoning President Li Yuan-hung. But Chang Hsun overplayed his hand. A fatal mistake was his execution of Prince Pu Lun, closely related to the Manchu Imperial family, the representative of China at the St. Louis Exposition, and, despite his Imperial connections, President of the first Chinese Republican Parliament. Ever since the establishment of the Republic Prince Pu Lun has been loyal to it, and when approached by Chang Hsun with a proposal to aid in restoring the monarchy advised against it. For this he was put to death. The act alienated many military chieftains more or less in sympathy with the monarchists.

The week began with fighting at Langfang, some thirty-five miles south of Peking. Meanwhile, foreigners and Chinese fled to the city of Tientsin, fearing loot and murder at the capital. The legations armed themselves for defense, and to keep access to the capital open the diplomatic representatives warned those in control that the international protocol of 1901 between China and the Powers requires freedom of railway communication.

The fighting resulted in Chang's defeat. He withdrew his forces to the capital, and now is reported to have further retreated into that part of it known as the Imperial City, which contains the so-called Temple of Heaven. This "Temple" is really a large inclosed space dotted with blue-domed temples, and was the scene of the most sacred rites under the old régime. The Imperial City is filled with irreplaceable relics of old China, and Chang's withdrawal into it as a place of refuge indicates his intention to hold China's priceless edifices as a pawn for his personal safety.

On Chang's approach to Peking, the Republican Government was removed to Nanking, the old Chinese capital, where Feng Kuo-chang, the Vice-President of the Republic, has declared that he has assumed the temporary Presidency. He has so informed Tuan Chi-jui, formerly Minister of War, and the leader of the Cabinet party, who had been deposed by the President on the suspicion that he had "sold out" China to Japan.

The Cabinet party aspires to conduct the Government without responsibility to Parliament. This would mean really a dictatorship. Chang was clever enough to see his opportunity, and had stepped in between the Cabinet party and the Parliamentary party by making a compromise proposal, namely, that there should be constitutionalism and a parliament, but that the executive should be an emperor.

With the collapse of the Manchu movement, the question now is, which of the other two elements will control the situation? The Parliamentary party appeals to a far wider sympathy throughout the world than does the Cabinet party; but, as China's supreme need is solidarity and centralization of control, the Cabinet party may for a time be successful.

Whether, however, one or the other gains the ascendency, another feature should not be overlooked. We find it reflected in a just-published appeal to the military governors of China from President Li shortly before the attempted overthrow of the Republic. Matters were already in such a condition of unrest that he said: "In this present disturbed state, China, like Korea, may be brought to the condition of a protectorate, in which there will be neither republic nor any restoration of the Manchu dynasty." This was the Chinese President's warning against dissensions which might bring China to a state of dependency upon Japan.

THE ARIZONA COPPER STRIKE

Arizona produces a third of the copper output of the United States. At present there is an entire suspension of work in the Arizona copper mines. Why is this? The workers demand better conditions as to time and wages. Perhaps they should have them. If so, one would think that the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers would be responsible for the situation. But its President, Charles H. Moyer, disclaims any authority or responsibility for the strike. He charges that the trouble is due to the activity of the Industrial Workers of the World. The operators add that when this fact is coupled with the fact that the most violent agitators and Industrial Workers of the World are Austrians, no further evidence should be necessary to show the ultimate influence responsible for the situation.

With reference to this strike Mr. Moyer, in response to our inquiry, has sent the following despatch to The Outlook:

> The fact that Industrial Workers of the World called strike at Butte, Montana, Jerome, Miami, Globe, Bisbee, and Humboldt, Arizona, all at same time and are active in attempt to close down copper smelter at El Paso, Texas, and copper mines and smelters in Utah, and their declaration that one will not start until all others have recognized their unreasonable demands and recognize their organization, is confirmation of my charge they are not only endeavoring to discredit our organization by calling their followers on strike in camps where we are organized, then practicing direct action and sabotage and charging it to our members, but through their lying statements and poisonous work have created such dissension among a number of our locals as entirely to destroy them.

It appears, then, that this strike is not so distinctively a conflict between labor and capital as a conflict between two rival labor organizations.

There was a picturesque occurrence at Jerome on July 10, when hundreds of miners and other citizens, some with rifles and others with pick handles, cleared the town of the agitators whom they considered undesirable. Sixty-seven of those persons were herded together, searched, loaded into cattle cars, and sent to a point some thirty miles away. At Globe, another mining center, there was some shooting, but order has been restored by the Federal troops.

The operators have asked for representatives of the Federal Government to visit the districts and investigate. The Government has appointed ex-Governor George W. P. Hunt to act as special conciliator at large. Thus the present Governor, Thomas E. Campbell, may find his position made somewhat more difficult, for a man who has fought him and is still contesting his election is appointed to a position where friendliest and frankest co-operation is essential.

THE KNEELING CHILDREN OF PARIS

WHEN our troops marched through the streets of Paris on Independence Day, they were pelted with flowers and were greeted with shouts by the crowds. So were the envoys of France hailed and applauded by the throngs in American cities. But there was one thing that happened in Paris that did not happen here. That is told in a cable despatch in a single sentence: "The Americans were greatly surprised to see a number of children kneel in the street as the flag was carried by."

For nearly three years France has been resisting invaders of unimaginable cruelty. For nearly three years cities and villages of France have been subjected to ruinous bombardment. For nearly three years men of France—fathers of families, brothers, and sons—have made of their bodies a parapet against the bullets and shells of the aggressors. For nearly three years women and children of France have been suffering unspeakable woe. Over all the land there has been darkness, and among all the people there has been pain.

And for the most part of these three years America, the sister

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republic of France, kept out of war. During these months upon months the American flag was kept safely furled at home. When the heroism of the French sons, brothers, and fathers in their resistance to the forces of tyranny was recounted to us, when the desolation of the land under the invader was described, when the cry of the women and children of France reached our ears, and our instinct commanded us to rise and go to their help, we were told that we must preserve our own peace and prosperity, that we must be for America first, that war was wicked and we must have no part in it. And France never complained and never reproached us. Now, at last, we are where we ought to be—by the side of those who are fighting for the preservation of democracy and of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And as our flag is unfurled in Paris, French children kneel.

Early in the war Rostand wrote a poem about the American flag. He told of a German reaching up and cutting out the stars, hoping thereby that he might destroy the idealism for which our Nation has stood. Then Rostand told how the night wind came, and the desecrated flag, lifting its folds in the breeze, showed through its torn field the very stars in the heavens.

For some of the people of France the flag of the United States may have such symbolism; but not for the little French children that knelt in the street. For them it meant only succor and a helping hand in the dark. And the children of France, as they kneel in the presence of our flag, are nearer the heart of the truth than even the French poet; for there is no true idealism possible to those who refuse to give help to men, women, and little children suffering in the defense of ideals. There is now a new glory in the flag, and those who are bearing it and will bear it on the battlefield of Europe will find no greater tribute than that paid to them by the kneeling children of Paris. Our soldiers will have rendered their country the highest service, inasmuch as they have done it unto the least of these.

NO DISTINCTIONS AMONG LOYAL CITIZENS

The American Red Cross has been cautioned by the State Department not to include in its units for service in the countries of our allies Americans who were born in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, or Bulgaria, or whose parents were born in those lands. The reason given for the warning is that the presence of such Americans in our Red Cross units would cause concern and anxiety to the officials of the Allied Governments.

There is scarcely any sacrifice that we ought not to be willing to make for the cause in which we are engaged; but we ought not to offer or consent to sacrifice the very thing that is at stake in this war. We are not fighting a territorial battle, but a battle of ideals. All who believe in democracy and liberty and the right of men to be civilized and humane and the obligation of governments to be moral are on our side. To reject them because of their birth or parentage is to deny the very thing that we are fighting for.

There must be some way found, and found speedily, to correct the gross blunder by which our Government has consented to the branding of those loyal Americans who happen to be natives of Germany or born of natives of Germany with the mark of suspicion. The United States has a right to demand that its citizens be loyal to it; but also the loyal citizen has a right to expect that his country shall be loyal to him.

If it were not for Americans of British birth or descent who fought against British tyranny, there would never have been an America to fight for to-day. Our Government must see to it that Americans of German birth or German descent who are willing to spend their lives in service to this country against German tyranny shall be accorded, not only by our own officials, but by the officials of our allies, the same honor and trust that are accorded to other Americans.

TO AN AGNOSTIC

In the article entitled "If God Reigns" in your issue of June 13, 1917, the following statements occur: "Jesus is called King of Kings and Lord of Lords. How did he exercise his authority? Only over those who accepted it. His subjects were all voluntary subjects. . . . Jesus would exercise no authority except over those who yielded to this authority," etc., etc.

I should be greatly interested in hearing how you reconcile such statements as the above with the following texts from the Gospels:

1. "He that believeth not shall be damned."
2. "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire."

AGNOSTIC.

Jesus never said, "He that believeth not shall be damned." The last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark (9–20) are a supplement or appendix, or probably two supplements, added by some unknown copyist to complete a book which had been left incomplete. See the "Twentieth Century New Testament" or any modern-school commentary.

The other saying you quote is found in Christ's dramatic picture of the Last Judgment, in which he welcomes to celestial companionship with himself and his Father those who befriended the sick, the sorrowful, the friendless, and condemns to eternal punishment those who have never done so. And he declares that neither class knew him; therefore the one class could not have accepted nor the other class have rejected his authority.

In the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus Christ sends to hell the rich man for leaving the beggar at his door uncared for. When Christ cries out to the Pharisees, "How can ye escape the damnation of hell?" it is not because of their opinions, but because they devour "widows' houses, and for a pretense make long prayers."

The Church has often condemned men for their theological opinions; Jesus never. He condemns them for inhumanity to man.

If you want to know what Jesus Christ taught, do not go to the creeds and theologies; go to the original documents. They are quite accessible. Read the first three Gospels. Read them not critically, to pick flaws in Christ's character, conduct, or teaching. Read them appreciatively, to find out what there is in his character, conduct, and teaching which has made him the admiration of such agnostics as the English John Stuart Mill and the French Ernest Renan.

WHAT SOME AMERICANS THINK OF EAST ST. LOUIS

EAST ST. LOUIS has recently occupied an unenviable but a well-merited place in the forum of public opinion.

As the home of the most destructive race riot of recent years this Northern city has brought upon itself the castigation of editors and public men both North and South. The immediate cause of this riot (which broke out on July 1, and raged for the larger part of two days) is still shrouded in doubt, but it is painfully evident that during the progress of the riot Negro men were hunted to death and their wives and children burned within the walls of their homes. Whether or not the spirit of riot will flare up again in East St. Louis seems at present to depend more upon the strong arm of military force than upon the self-restraint of her citizens.

The opinion of Governor Lowden, of Illinois, is the opinion of the whole country. After a visit on July 3 to East St. Louis he said:

> I have been weighted down since I visited those hospitals last night, since I saw those charred ruins of homes, since I saw the havoc this riot wrought. . . . A stain rests upon Illinois—a stain that will remain. We cannot erase it if we would. . . .
>
> We in the North have been in the habit frequently of criticising our Southern friends for their treatment of the Negro.

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. . . I tell you that I know of no outrages that have been perpetrated in the South that surpass the conditions I found in East St. Louis, in our own beloved State.

Mr. Roosevelt, during a reception to the Russian Commission in New York, courageously faced the issue raised by the East St. Louis riots. In Carnegie Hall, from the same platform on which sat the Russian Commission, Mr. Roosevelt said:

> Before I extend my greetings to these envoys I want to say a word to you, a word I should not leave unsaid. Before I speak of justice and liberty to Russia we should do justice within our own household. There has been an appalling outbreak of savagery in the race riots in East St. Louis—race riots which, as far as we can see, had no real provocation, and, whether there was provocation or not, waged with such appalling brutality as to leave a stain on the name of America.
>
> It behooves us to express our deep condemnation of acts that give the lie to our words. It is our duty to demand that the governmental representatives whose business it is shall use with ruthless sternness every instrumentality at their command to punish murder, whether committed by whites against blacks or blacks against whites.

This statement of Mr. Roosevelt's called forth at the time the emphatic protest of Mr. Gompers, who declared that the race riots, detestable though they were, had been caused by the unfair importation of Negro labor from the South. This indirect apology for the rioters called forth a second energetic protest from Mr. Roosevelt, and for a little while it seemed as though the reception to the Russian envoys would be forced to take second place to the discussion of what many might consider solely an American domestic problem. But it is not merely a domestic problem. That riot was an attempt to terrorize a community into submission; and "frightfulness" is a menace to all mankind, whether we call it *Schrecklichkeit* when practiced by the Prussians in Belgium or France, or call it a race riot when practiced by a mob of whites in an American city.

Naturally enough, many Southern newspapers have seized upon the East St. Louis riots as an opportunity to point the accusing finger at those Northern critics who have been most vehement in denouncing the South for its attitude toward the Negro. A typical editorial of this kind appears in the "Courier-Journal" of Louisville, Kentucky. The "Courier-Journal" says:

> It would be indeed a strange *dénouement* and a kind of poetic justice if, after the ungenerous treatment bestowed upon the South by the public opinion of the North in the matter of this Negro question, the chalice of race poison should be put to the North's own lips. . . . If East St. Louis were in Kentucky, the newspapers north of us would be on their hind legs howling for dear life.

It can be said in fairness to such Northern papers as the New York "Evening Post" and the Chicago "Tribune," which have been the bitterest critics of Southern lynching, that they have been, in the present instance, equally bitter in their condemnation of this Northern atrocity. Despite this fact, there is more than enough truth in the arraignment by the Atlanta "Constitution" to make the reproach of that journal unpleasant reading for Northern eyes:

> Disdainful of law or decency, disregardful of police or military authority, all day long and for half the night the blood-crazed mobs howled and fought and destroyed—employing stones, bludgeons, knives, firearms, and the torch! The number of dead Negroes as a result of the day's rioting cannot be approximately estimated until a search of the charred ruins can be made.
>
> And this all happened in the home State of Abraham Lincoln, who guaranteed the black man freedom from bondage and equality before the law!

Here is the concluding advice of the Atlanta "Constitution:"

> As to those colored folk who have escaped with their lives, they had better come back home, where they were well off. And those who have not gone North can thank their lucky stars that they have stuck by the South, where every man is safeguarded in the right to work—and to live in peace and security if he works and leads the life of a decent, self-respecting citizen!

Not all Southern papers, however, are as certain as the Atlanta "Constitution that the exodus of Negroes to the North followed solely as a result of the blandishment of Northern labor agents. Any one who has recently traveled through the South knows that there are many Southern men and women who ascribe the exodus of Negroes from the South in part to the unsanitary conditions in which the average Negro is forced to dwell, to a lack of school facilities for the colored race, and to the uneconomic system of tenant farming which still hampers the agricultural efforts of a large part of the South.

The New York "Tribune" quotes two editorials from Southern papers which have looked upon the East St. Louis riots with their eyes open. The first is from the Houston (Texas) "Post:"

> In the towns and cities the Negroes are dissatisfied with their living conditions. They are not disturbed about politics or social equality, but the insanitary surroundings amid which circumstances compel them to exist are unsatisfactory, and the white people owe it to their own welfare to improve those conditions.
>
> Even worse conditions obtain on many of the plantations, and added to all of the drawbacks common to the towns and cities is the other fact that the rural schools for Negro children, where they exist at all, are a joke.
>
> Another cause of Negro discontent lies in the widely prevalent and largely justified belief among the Negroes that there is one law for the white man and another for the Negro. The instances in the court records of the State which prove this to be true are too numerous to be recited here.

The Savannah "Morning News" does not believe that the solution of the problem caused by the emigration of Negro labor from the South is to be found in the application of coercive measures to prevent the Negro departing from the location which has so long been his home. This Georgia paper says:

> Would it not be the part of reason to look about us and find out why the Negro is so fixed in his determination to go elsewhere, instead of arbitrarily seeking to stay his departure or to frighten him into staying by picturing to him the disadvantages of the life he will have to live in the North? If the Negro is discontented in the South, there is undoubtedly a reason for his discontentment. This reason may be partly fancied, but it cannot be wholly so; a race of people does not break every natural tie and go into strange lands because of an entirely fancied grievance.
>
> Consider the matter selfishly or altruistically, as you please, there is no escape from the conclusion that the obligation to understand the Negro's view-point is resting upon the best white people of the South heavily, or that this obligation is of the most pressing immediacy.

If the North and South can get together on such a basis for action as has been outlined by the Savannah "Morning News," we shall have gone a long way towards eradicating many of the contributing causes to such a disaster as has occurred in East St. Louis.

In view of the fact that such occurrences as the East St. Louis riots and the recent ghastly lynching in the neighborhood of Memphis, Tennessee, have caused the growth of a tremendous feeling of discouragement and fear among the Negroes both North and South, it is gratifying to record the fact that in the South, at least, the number of recorded lynchings during the first six months of 1917 has been very much less than during the same periods in 1915 and in 1916. According to statistics compiled by the head of the Division of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, Professor Monroe N. Work, there were thirty-four lynchings during this period in 1915, twenty-five lynchings in 1916, and only fourteen lynchings in 1917. Professor Work states that in ten instances by the bravery of officers of the law mobs were thwarted and lynching prevented. Of those lynched thirteen were Negroes and one was a white man. Four of those put to death—one white man and three Negroes—were charged with the crime of rape. One of those lynched was a Negro woman, reported to have been of unsound mind, who in resisting arrest wounded an officer of the law.

The decrease in the number of lynchings is a happy augury for the future; but so long as a single man, black or white, is put to death by mob violence within the confines of the United States without due process of law, America cannot hold itself free from shame.

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OVERCOMING DEAFNESS

WHAT A CENTURY HAS ACCOMPLISHED

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MORE than one hundred years ago little Alice Gogswell, of Hartford, lost her hearing through scarlet fever. Instead of "bowing to the chastening of Providence," according to the fashion of the time, her father, aroused to the deprivations of other sufferers, devoted his resources to their alleviation and cure. Having ascertained that there were in the United States two thousand deaf persons, and no provision whatever for their happiness or development, he sent Dr. Thomas H. Gallaudet, whose friendly interest had helped his little daughter, to study in Europe the results of four hundred years of experiment. France it was which most willingly came to our aid, the Paris Institution for the Deaf sending Laurent Clerc to help Dr. Gallaudet in this country.

In 1817 the two opened in Hartford the school whose centennial anniversary lately brought together hundreds of alumni and delegates, many prominent educators from all parts of the country, the Conventions of American Instructors of the Deaf, of the Gallaudet College Alumni, and of the National Association of the Deaf. A large harvest from one little French seed!

One feature of the celebration was a pageant, beautifully given in the evening on the grounds of the school, in which pupils and citizens, including descendants of Gallaudet and Clerc, portrayed the progress of care of the deaf in European countries, Dr. Gallaudet's difficulties in his search, and the development of his work in this spot.

But the centennial celebration and conventions alike dealt less with the past than with the future. One room in the building of 1821 held books and furniture of that day, but many rooms were filled by the exhibitions of the handiwork which assures to the pupils an independent livelihood. The souvenir programme, guiltless of one "printer's error," spoke well for the school's printing department. But even the "demonstrations" by pupils of various schools were given less as evidence of achievement than of progress toward a high goal. All agreed in treating deafness not as an affliction to be endured, but a handicap to be overcome, a challenge to ingenuity.

Each method of instruction had its advocates, supported by results—theories had been left at home. Interpreters, themselves a fascinating study of the effect of personality upon motions, swiftly gesticulated the speeches into the eager eyes doing duty for useless ears, and all over the hall ran the silent interchange of comment.

Most speakers stressed the acquisition of speech and "hearing," leaving intellectual development to be worked out later. One urged development of whatever power of hearing might be latent. A child, he said, often hears more than it realizes, because sound impressions have never been associated with objects or facts. Thirty-five per cent of his pupils had responded to ten minutes daily of individual training. Several use music for voice pitch. Pupils could tell from vibration which of various unseen instruments had produced a certain note, and could reproduce the note, thus learning modulation. Totally deaf children gave emotional sentences, suggested by their teacher or the audience, with natural intonation. The study of music, instrumental or vocal, band practice, drill or dancing, help to overcome the sense of isolation. So also does training in the little social courtesies. Lip-reading is carried even into the study of foreign languages, opening many avenues of usefulness. The vocational schools are finding and filling constantly new openings for successful work. Agriculture, poultry raising, the manual arts, printing, and teaching the deaf are the principal vocations recommended. For the first two the dislike of the deaf for country life is the chief obstacle.

The question as to the withdrawal of feeble-minded and partly deaf children from the public schools and their prompt separation from one another aroused argument, one side seeing chiefly the tribulations of the teacher and possible slow advance of the normal pupil, the other the stimulus of normal companionship to the partially deaf, and the strong probability that many "feeble-minded" are inattentive and stupid because of imperfect hearing. With observation and patience the teacher could save many. One "border-line case," at first condemned as feeble-minded, after three long years of effort without visible result, developed into a normal citizen, self-supporting and happy. In too many cases children whom patient effort might have saved are doomed to lifelong association with the feeble-minded.

Doctors urged frequent inspection of the ear and earlier care of any ailment, particularly in children's diseases, which still cause too large a proportion of trouble. Infantile paralysis affects the auditory nerve. In scarlet fever the trouble is infection, and care should begin with earliest convalescence. The "lassitude of parents," their failure to notice their children's actions, may have deplorable results. But, unless absolutely necessary, removal from family life is undesirable.

The most spectacular "exhibit" was an eleven-year-old boy from the Halifax school, blind and deaf since he was nine months old. With only a few months of training beyond the little knowledge his mother could impart, he can understand questions spelled into the palm, and answer intelligibly, immediately challenging any unfamiliar word. An exceptionally clever boy, of educated parentage, he is wonderfully repaying the devoted work of his teacher.

The many alumni, "listening" eagerly to tales of progress, giving their experiences of rich and happy lives, greeting each other with their strange silent hilarity, unconsciously bore witness to the power of education. Those who say that the deaf have no sense of humor should have seen these groups.

Hartford, Connecticut. CAROLINE DEMING CAMP.

HOW AUSTRALIA IS HANDLING HER PROBLEMS

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MILITARY and naval preparedness, regulation of the people's food supply and the cost of living generally, an ever-mounting tide of labor unrest—these, perhaps, are the three greatest problems before the American Nation at this time. How America answers these questions now will affect her entire future history. This threefold problem—this troublous trinity—bristles with formidable difficulties. It is of interest to turn to what has been accomplished by a sister democracy, that we may profit by the actual experience of a kindred people and not seek solutions in merely empirical experiments.

Australia, an Anglo-Saxon democracy, has much in common with the United States; her people speak the same language, live beneath practically the same code of common law, have established much the same institutions, enjoy the same traditions of liberty in speech and act, are drawn from much the same original stocks. Australia has dealt with Asiatic immigration. Australia has a Pacific Ocean seaboard open to the Orient. Australia has stood face to face with the national defense problem. Australia has been torn by struggles innumerable between labor and capital. Americans in general know little of the great southern island-continent—less, I found, than Australians know of the United States. They should become better acquainted. To clear the ground let us remember these things about the Commonwealth.

She covers almost as much territory as the United States, although her population is less than that of Greater New York City.

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She leads the world in the sheep-farming industry. There are no kangaroos in the streets of Greater Sydney, a fine modern city of a million people. Wallabies do not skip lightsomely about the sacred precincts of the Federal buildings in Melbourne, the capital city, which has a population approximating 700,000, and which boasts the world's largest railway station. The country is not to any extent inhabited by the aboriginal "blackfellows," who number at most 100,000, and who are a rapidly vanishing race.

Her vast, sparsely populated territory lies at the very back door of Asia, with its teeming millions. Small wonder that one of the first acts of her sentient nationhood was to prohibit absolutely all Asiatic immigration. "White Australia," the greatest of her national policies, slams her door in the face of all Oriental peoples. This drastic step was taken in frank fear of Japan.

Then followed the universal military training laws; they were the corollary of the Asiatic Exclusion Act, for such a strong policy is worthless if it cannot be backed up by force in face of possible opposition. By the Defense Acts of 1903 and 1904 all male inhabitants of Australia between the ages of eighteen and sixty were made liable to serve in the defense forces in time of war. More recent acts make military training and service compulsory in time of peace. By the Act of 1909 compulsory training was made law for the first time in any English-speaking community. This training is as follows: from twelve to fourteen years of age in the junior cadets; from fourteen to eighteen in the senior cadets; from eighteen to twenty-six in the citizen forces. The military cannot be used in labor disputes; that is one of the conditions laid down in their oath.

A navy has been established, also. Till quite recently Australia had an agreement with Great Britain by which the mother country took care of the Commonwealth's naval protection. Now, not only has the country a fine young navy of her own, but the Government dockyards at Cockatoo Island, near Sydney, are equipped to turn out the finest and largest war-vessels demanded by modern naval science. The antipodeans already have learned the value of an adequate navy; had it not been for the ceaseless vigils of the battle-cruiser Australia the German squadron operating in the Pacific during the early days of the war could have laid Sydney in ruins and levied tribute on any of the coast cities. But the Australia carried too heavy an armament for the Kaiser's men-of-war, which were sunk afterwards by the British off the Falkland Islands. The Australian cruiser Sydney, too, ended the career of the German raider Emden off the Cocos Islands. The German had played havoc to the tune of $10,000,000 among Allied shipping before the guns of the Sydney pounded her into scrap-iron.

When Great Britain declared war on Germany—August 4, 1914—Andrew Fisher, then Prime Minister of Australia, announced that the Commonwealth stood with the motherland "to the last man and the last shilling." Since then between a quarter of a million and three hundred thousand men have been sent to one or another of the battle-fronts or are under training at home—in Egypt, in Great Britain, or elsewhere. Every man was raised and completely fitted out with full war equipment in the Commonwealth. Soldiers from Australia and New Zealand took possession of German New Guinea and German Samoa. Thus has this lusty young new nation borne herself in her great testing time.

Union labor controls the Australian Federal Government. Union labor controls five out of the six State Legislatures. Union labor controls the municipal councils of most of the big cities.

When the Watson Labor Ministry first took power in 1904, a Japanese statesman, astounded at the news, said: "The coolie classes have captured the Government in Australia." Of course this was an exaggeration—indeed, a caricature—of the fact, for nowhere in the world are the masses less like coolies and better educated than in Australia. Under such conditions, one might expect spectacular rises to fame and fortune. W. M. Hughes is Prime Minister to-day. He electrified London by the ringing patriotism of his speeches early in 1916. He sat at the Paris Economic Conference of the Allies, and told how he had smashed the German control of his country's metal output. And only a few years ago he was mending umbrellas for a living on the streets of Sydney! Fisher, Hughes's predecessor as Prime Minister, and now Australian High Commissioner in London, worked down a coal mine. Senator Pearce, War Minister, was a carpenter.

The eight-hour day is law throughout the country. It is the very basis of Australian industrial unionism. The eight-hour day was first put into practice in New Zealand as long ago as 1848—the year gold was discovered in California. It became law in the various Australian States between 1855 and 1896, in which year the last State adopted the eight-hour day. Some trades have secured a forty-four-hour week, a few even have a forty-two-hour week. Four centuries ago in his "Utopia" Sir Thomas More taught that two hours a day are enough for men to toil if employed only in producing for the world's necessities instead of for employers' profits.

There was much ado in the press recently about how far the United States is behind Canada and Australia in the matter of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. Two bodies deal with wages regulation and employment conditions in Australia—a Wages Board and an Industrial Arbitration Court. The principle of referring industrial disputes to a properly constituted body is a quarter of a century old there. Strikes and lockouts equally are prohibited under penalty of a $5,000 fine. At that the unions call a strike whenever they choose. So jealously is the personal liberty of the subject guarded that a decision of the Arbitration Court ordering striking Newcastle coal trimmers back to work has been upset by the Supreme Court of New South Wales, which held that the Arbitration Court had no power to make men work if they did not wish to do so. Wages Boards fix absolute minimum wages.

And withal industrial strife is rampant. This is due, I think, to the fact that the long-protracted war between capital and labor was fought with intense class bitterness. Bad feeling still runs high in the breasts of workingmen now in a position to wreak what they deem just vengeance upon the employing class. Labor hardly as yet has found its voice; is, to a great extent, inarticulate—"an infant crying for the light, and with no language but a cry." Labor has hardly grown used to its unaccustomed vestments of executive authority. Labor can hardly be expected to use its freshly won power with all discretion at all times. Lastly, Australian labor movements suffer from a cause that has operated with disastrous effect in the United States—that is, ignorant Anarchists, flocking in from older countries with nothing but the memory of their wrongs and their passionate, wild desire for a new order to serve them in the stead of reason, frequently precipitate crises when they find themselves in an atmosphere of freedom which they are not sufficiently well balanced to appreciate. Perhaps a hasty, biased view of Australia's everlasting labor troubles might lead one to the same scathing judgment as recently was passed by a commission of American business men; but Australian and American view-points on this matter are at such polar extremes that no mutual understanding is possible. This was well put in the Sydney "Morning Herald:"

"Can it be wondered at in circumstances such as these [*i. e.*, the prevalence of almost daily strikes] that an American trade commission should report that Australia is facing a 'period of decadence and dry rot,' that industrial legislation is making this country 'a breeding-ground of loafers and idlers,' and 'has practically destroyed all hope of reward from personal ambition among the workers,' and has served merely to level up and level down 'the whole class to one standard of opportunity'? Such is the finding of business men sent to this country personally to investigate . . . industrial conditions . . . here. But is the finding just? Is it a fair [representation of conditions locally prevailing?

"We must first of all realize that American standards are not our standards. The ideal of the American workingman is to become independent, to become an employer, to become wealthy. In keeping that ideal ever before him he is essentially individualistic. He is prepared to work hard and to work long as long as he is well paid for his labor. The Australian worker adopts an entirely different criterion of progress. He, too, has ambitions. He wants to become more comfortable, . . . to have more money to spend. . . . But he looks rather to the class than to

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the individual. He wants an advance for all, not for the picked ones. He does not see that there is any particular advantage in a few of his class forcing their way out of the ruck, and possibly becoming millionaires, unless all can share the good things. So he is quite prepared to sanction some leveling down if on the whole he can see some leveling up."

In labor-controlled Australia sweating has been kicked out of business. Child labor laws see to it that the "golden age" of youth loses none of its brightness by tender hands and undeveloped bodies being set to tasks beyond their strength and years. Factories and Shops Acts, endowing an army of inspectors with unlimited powers of examination and inquiry, protect life, health, and limbs of the worker to the full. Women employees are especially cared for by humane provisions. Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Acts penalize careless or callous masters. Old age pensions make easy the last steps on the downward road of life for those who otherwise would find them hard indeed; invalid pensions also are allotted the indigent sick. Maternity allowances have been paid since 1912. Local option is in vogue everywhere. Adult suffrage has been granted. South Australia was the first State to give women the right to ballot—just twenty years ago. All the States have systems of Government loans to farmers.

In New South Wales a Necessary Commodities Commission fixes the price of foodstuffs. Big business, preparing to reap fat war-time profits, emitted an indignant belch that drowned for a period even the popular clamor—"No juggling with the necessities of life!" Big business wriggled. Big business squirmed. Finally big business subsided. People had watched the same contortions before; they did not worry. In the neighboring State of Victoria there was no Necessary Commodities Commission. And Victoria paid 60 cents a pound for butter while New South Wales was paying at the most 36 cents, at the least 30 cents. A Fair Rents Court, to which repair all who feel themselves victims of "landlordism," also has been established.

Public ownership is far beyond the experimental stage. The Government operates the railways. The Government runs street car systems. It controls telegraph, telephone, and other services. Government railways have made a substantial profit every year since the inception of the Commonwealth on January 1, 1901.

New South Wales has even started State fisheries. The State owns the trawlers that catch the fish at sea. The State owns and operates the chain of stores in which the finny catches are sold on land. The public is assured of a plentiful supply of cheap, wholesome food. Not long ago, while informing the Government that a further $500,000 would have to be spent for new trawlers, the Minister responsible for the scheme said: "With properly built refrigerating depots, smokehouse, and fish-canning works, it is quite possible that within five years from now the whole population of New South Wales may secure a daily service of fish."

State bakeries are running full blast in New South Wales. When I left Australia, Queensland had initiated a scheme for State breweries and State hotels.

What is called the New Protection has found a permanent place in Australian economics. New Protection postulates that "a manufacturer who benefits by the Commonwealth protective tariff should charge a reasonable price for the goods he manufactures, and should institute a fair and reasonable rate of wages and conditions of labor for his workmen." A concrete example is given in the Government's official indorsement of the New Protection: "By the customs tariff of 1906, increased duties were imposed upon certain classes of agricultural machinery, notably the 'stripper-harvester,' a machine invented in Australia which has to a great extent replaced the 'reaper and binder and threshing machine' in the harvesting of wheat. By the same Act it was enacted that the machines scheduled should not be sold at a higher cash price than was thereby fixed, and that if that price should be exceeded the Commonwealth Executive should have power, by reducing the customs duties imposed by the Act, to withdraw tariff protection."

And here we must take leave of Australia. Her critics—and their name is legion—should remember that often their ways are not the ways of the people whom they are passing under review. The French have a proverb—"To know all is to forgive all;" surely to understand the other fellow, to get his point of view, is a necessary preliminary to any judgment upon his conduct. The friends of Australia—and their name, too, is legion—know that she is passing through a transition stage. All is in the melting-pot; all the time-worn economic and social faiths, to which older peoples have pinned their trust this long while, have been hurled into the seething caldron of the new democracy. Whatever good to mankind finally is drawn therefrom, Australia at least commands the attention and respect of broad-minded, earnest, thoughtful men for her brave, honest endeavors to realize in some sort a golden age on earth, wherein in very fact all will be "peace and good will towards men."

H. C. DOUGLAS.

THE CHART OF HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIES

MR. HOOVER, United States Food Commissioner, has prepared a chart by which housewives are asked to steer their domestic crafts to the port of war-time economy. It is hoped that this chart will be hung in every kitchen in America and will be carefully followed. We publish herewith the recommendations of Commissioner Hoover in full. This is the list of things which our housewives must save if they are to help in winning the war.

Certainly these recommendations of Commissioner Hoover are wise and feasible. Many households have already begun to practice economy in the spirit if not in the exact form of the recommendations of Commissioner Hoover. It will be interesting for such households to check up their own economies with those urged by Commissioner Hoover. For those who have not yet put their rationing upon a war basis we cannot too strongly advise a careful study of this plan for saving.

SAVE THE WHEAT.—One wheatless meal a day. Use corn, oatmeal, rye, or barley bread and non-wheat breakfast foods. Order bread twenty-four hours in advance, so your baker will not bake beyond his needs. Cut the loaf on the table, and only as required. Use stale bread for cooking, toast, etc. Eat less cake and pastry.

Our wheat harvest is far below normal. If each person weekly saves one pound of wheat flour, that means 150,000,000 more bushels of wheat for the Allies to mix in their bread. This will help them to save democracy.

SAVE THE MILK.—The children must have milk. Use every drop. Use buttermilk and sour milk for cooking and making cottage cheese. Use less cream.

SAVE THE MEAT.—Beef, mutton, or pork not more than once daily. Use freely vegetables and fish. At the meat meal serve smaller portions and stew instead of steaks. Make made dishes of all left-overs. Do this, and there will be meat enough for every one at a reasonable price.

We are to-day killing the dairy cows and female calves as the result of high prices. Therefore, eat less, and eat no young meat. If we save an ounce of meat each day per person, we will have additional supply equal to 2,200,000 cattle.

SAVE THE FATS.—We are the world's greatest fat wasters. Fat is food. Butter is essential for the growth and health of children. Use butter on the table as usual, but not in cooking. Other fats are as good. Reduce use of fried foods. Soap contains fats. Do not waste it. Make your own washing soap at home out of the saved fats.

Use one-third ounce less per day of animal fat and 375,000 tons will be saved yearly.

SAVE THE SUGAR.—Sugar is scarcer. We use to-day three times as much per person as our allies. So there may be enough for all at reasonable prices, use less candy and sweet drinks. Do not stint sugar in putting up fruit and jams. They will save butter.

If every one in America saves one ounce of sugar daily, it means 1,100,000 tons for the year.

SAVE THE FUEL.—Coal comes from a distance and our railways are overburdened hauling war material. Help relieve them by burning fewer fires. Use wood when you can get it.

USE THE PERISHABLE FOODS.—Fruits and vegetables we have in abundance. As a Nation we eat too little green stuffs. Double their use and improve your health. Store potatoes and other roots properly and they will keep. Begin now to can or dry all surplus garden products.

USE LOCAL SUPPLIES.—Patronize your local producer. Distance means money. Buy perishable food from the neighborhood nearest you, and thus save transportation.

GENERAL RULES

Buy less; serve smaller portions.

Preach the "Gospel of the Clean Plate."

Don't eat a fourth meal.

Don't limit the plain food to growing children.

Watch out for the wastes in the community.

Full garbage-pails in America mean empty dinner-pails in America and Europe.

If the more fortunate of our people will avoid waste and eat no more than they need, the high cost of living problem of the less fortunate will be solved.

HERBERT C. HOOVER,
United States Food Commissioner.

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IN NO-MAN'S LAND

BY MARION COUTHOUY SMITH

In No-Man's Land, where every tree
  Is tortured from its gracious guise,
In stark and twisted boughs we see
  Three phantom crosses rise;
One is the cross of children slain,
  And one the cross where heroes died,
And one the royal throne of pain
  Of Christ the Crucified.

In No-Man's Land, where now no more
  To earth's scarred fields the grasses cling,
Three thorn-boughs lie across that door
  That shuts us from the spring;
And one is blossoming pure and white
  As children's breasts; and one drips down
With blood of heroes in the fight;
  And one is Christ's own crown.

In No-Man's Land, where threatening night
  Is kinder than the dreadful day,
Three roses yet shall bloom in light
  Along the desolate way;
All white and red the twain shall spring,
  Of innocence and courage born;
The third Lord Christ himself shall bring
  On Resurrection Morn.

LLOYD GEORGE: A MAN WITH A SINGLE AIM

HIS WAR POLICY AND HIS POLITICAL STRENGTH

BY AN ENGLISH LIBERAL

MR. LLOYD GEORGE is the greatest personality in Europe to emerge from the war. His name is a rallying cry among the Allies and his speeches re-echo round the Continent. There is only one view of him in France, Italy, and other Allied countries. But in England, in spite of his popularity with the general public, he is looked upon with varied feelings by different sections of political parties. He is watched, for instance, by one section of Liberal politicians with suspicion; he is regarded by others still as the hope of the new democracy, which he was before the war; he is tolerated by Tories with mistrust mingled with fear; the advanced Labor party and the Socialists regard him as their most dangerous opponent. He has been represented as a man who forsook his friends and betrayed his party; as a conspirator who intrigued to undermine Mr. Asquith's Government and planned to take his place; as the Prime Minister who destroyed parliamentary institutions and set up an unlimited dictatorship; as a democrat who became a reactionary.

Mr. Lloyd George is too complex a personality to be easily understood. His attitude towards the war and political parties has been misrepresented more than once even in America, and he has suffered from the ignorance or prejudice of those who have criticised him. He is a somewhat enigmatical man, whose moods are not always easy to define and whose actions sometimes give rise to suspicions. Some of his old friends, of whom I count myself one, have been unable at times to give him whole-hearted support during the war; but I am bound to admit that his forceful policy has been justified, and his foresight has, as a rule, been strikingly vindicated by events.

In order to appreciate Mr. Lloyd George's attitude of mind towards the war one must analyze his personality and fathom the motives which have actuated him. As soon as he realized that we should have a stiff, stubborn, and long fight to conquer the enemy he threw himself into the struggle with fierce energy and a passion that was all-consuming. Impetuous and impatient, he advocated bold, radical measures. He flung party ties, party interests, party considerations, present and future, to the winds. Nothing mattered but winning the war. He wanted the nation controlled, disciplined, and organized to the last man, woman, and boy. He welcomed the help of any one who supported his plans, regardless of their antecedents. Some of those who supported him inside and outside Parliament were men of little character and no great reputation; they sought notoriety as supporters of the war hero of British democracy. Others who aided him by their advocacy or their patronage were men of influence but little sense of responsibility. All help was grist to his mill. To paraphrase Molière, he welcomed support where he found it.

When the war began, Mr. Lloyd George was Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had held the position for six years. His budgets had been concerned chiefly with finance as a lever to enforce social and economic reforms, to tax the unearned wealth of the rich, and to break down the privileges and monopoly of the territorial magnates. When war came, Mr. Lloyd George kept his head while credit was temporarily shattered and when the exchanges of the world were paralyzed. He called to his aid the ablest bankers in England, and succeeded in a time of unprecedented strain in placing the financial position on a sound and stable basis.

It was not until after he left the Treasury that Mr. Lloyd George developed to the full his national leadership as to the war. While Chancellor of the Exchequer he was a member of a committee for the supply of rifles, guns, and other munitions. His eagerness for a large output of munitions brought him up against the drink traffic, a cause of slackness and inefficiency in the workshops. "Away with it!" he cried. In the spring of 1915 he proposed that the state should buy up the whole drink business. Failing to convert his colleagues, he resorted tc severe restrictions in all munitions areas. As Prime Minister he has again revived the project of state purchase. He has an eye to the future as well as to the present, as he does not want England after the war to lapse back into its old drinking ways. He considers that prohibition is impossible as a national policy, and has adopted state purchase and control, local option, or referendum as the means of insuring to the Government complete mastery of the whole business of the production, distribution, and sale of liquor. In his desire to mobilize all the resources of the country Mr. Lloyd George favored the conscription of labor for industrial purposes. The opposition of the trade unions, however, made that policy impossible.

He left the Exchequer in order to become the missionary of munitions. With lightning rapidity he gathered round him at the new Ministry of Munitions a marvelous assortment of talented men—scientists, industrial magnates, factory controllers,

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MR. LLOYD GEORGE AT A POTATO-SPRAYING DEMONSTRATION—CONSERVATION OF THE FOOD SUPPLY IS AN INCIDENT OF HIS "SINGLE AIM"

inventors, and specialists of all kinds. He wanted the whole country transformed into one vast arsenal. The Minister of Munitions became the organizer and the inspirer of the nation in this gigantic effort to overtake arrears in the production of munitions. He succeeded amazingly. Attacked at the outset for the multiplicity of offices which he created and for his unconventional and unbusinesslike methods, nevertheless he "delivered the goods." The only thing which matters in war is success, to achieve the purpose for which one sets out, and this Mr. Lloyd George accomplished. He got munitions in great abundance for the army, and thereby became immensely popular with the soldiers. If to-day the British army is admirably equipped with every kind of munition of war, the credit belongs chiefly to him.

When Mr. Lloyd George went to the War Office, in succession to Lord Kitchener, he put into his new duties the same enthusiasm and the same energy that he had put into the work of munitions and finance.

It is charged against him that all through this period he was undermining the authority of the Government of which he was a member; that he remained silent when his friends and colleagues in the Cabinet were attacked; not only so, but that he consorted with men, inside and outside the House of Commons, who maligned his colleagues, particularly Mr. Asquith, and that he never tried to restrain them. Had Mr. Lloyd George started to defend individual members of the Government, he would have had his work cut out, as every one of them was assailed in turn, with more or less virulence and without justification. No one had to put up with more unscrupulous press and personal attacks before the war than Mr. Lloyd George. Sometimes he retaliated in kind, but, as a rule, he was indifferent. He was inured to slander, misrepresentation, and every form of vilification. He attached less importance to the attacks on his colleagues in consequence of his own experience. One must admit, however, that some phases of the anti-Government campaign fitted in with his own inclination, as he was opposed to the delays in the direction of war policy and was fighting inside the Cabinet against that weakness. Personal friendship and devoted political loyalty are not necessarily synonymous. We have an example in the case of Lord Haldane. No public man ever suffered more from unscrupulous, venomous, malicious, and slanderous attacks in the press than Lord Haldane. He had been for years the close personal friend and political ally of both Mr. Asquith and Lord Grey. But neither came to his rescue when he was attacked; they allowed him to be driven by slander and misrepresentation from public life. They could have cleared him of the foulest imputations made against him by publishing his despatches from Berlin in 1912, when he undertook a special mission outside his own sphere at the special request of the Cabinet and the King. They did not do so, although Lord Haldane would have welcomed publication. Mr. Lloyd George's colleagues never defended him when he was attacked.

Much of the hostility to Mr. Lloyd George is due to misunderstandings. One is that he is the tool of Lord Northcliffe and that his Government is the creation of the Northcliffe press. The Northcliffe press has patronized and exploited him, but never controlled him or directed his policy. The Northcliffe papers served him, and he served the Northcliffe press. They have been out for the same things more than once during the war, and nothing has suited the Northcliffe press better than to rally to the support of the popular war hero, to pretend that they had carried through policies which would have been accomplished in spite of them. The Northcliffe press is a very uncertain support, and if a public man cannot be used by it he can always be, and generally is, abused. Mr. Lloyd George, when he has an objective, be it more munitions, national service, or anything else, will accept and welcome support from all quarters, so long as it helps him to achieve his purpose; but he does not compromise himself with those who support him or allow himself to be influenced or controlled by them. He accepts help, but it does not follow that he trusts his helpers; and it is quite certain that the Northcliffe press does not trust, and never has altogether trusted, him. For that

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matter, it never trusts any one, nor does any one trust it. Its business is to create a commotion on any and every subject, and the war has given it a unique opportunity. It has acted from what it considered to be sound patriotic motives, although its methods have tended to produce misunderstandings between England and her allies, to irritate neutrals, and to comfort and encourage the enemy.

Another source of misunderstanding which has been used to prejudice Mr. Lloyd George, more particularly in his relations with Liberals, is that he conspired to oust Mr. Asquith from office, and with the help of the Northcliffe press created the crisis in November last in order to accomplish his purpose. Nothing is more certain than this—that Mr. Lloyd George did not covet the Premiership, and that he would have preferred to serve under Mr. Asquith.

The crisis that culminated in the fall of the Asquith coalition originated in a debate in the House of Commons on the sale of German properties in Nigeria, when Sir Edward Carson led a large portion of the Conservative party into the lobby against their leader, Mr. Bonar Law. But there would have been no crisis had it not been for the weakness of the Asquith War Committee. Mr. Bonar Law could not go on with a divided party, and there was no chance of union on the Conservative side unless there was a change of war policy. The military situation at this time (the end of November last) was at its blackest. Rumania had been overrun by the enemy, the new submarine campaign had begun, reaction was in full swing in Russia, the political situation was bad in France, nothing was being done in Asia Minor and Salonika, and there was a sad lack of vigor and unity in the Allied war policy. Mr. Lloyd George had been trying to force the pace by advocating internal reforms in view of the submarine danger, spurring on the War Committee, and on more than one occasion he had offered to resign rather than share in the responsibility for a policy of indecision. The War Committee had become a very inefficient body. Mr. Asquith found great difficulty in combining the position of chairman of the Committee with that of Prime Minister and leader of the House of Commons, and in giving sufficient time and attention to the work which these three positions involved. He was unable to take quick decisions and was always trying to seek unanimity among his colleagues instead of imposing decisions. The Committee was proving an inefficient instrument for conducting the war, and it was criticised by members of all parties, also by the press representing both sides, including leading Liberal papers like the "Daily Chronicle," the Manchester "Guardian," and the "Westminster Gazette." The initiative for a change of method began with Mr. Bonar Law, who drew up a scheme for a new War Council, to consist of Mr. Asquith as president and Mr. Lloyd George as chairman, with two or three other members. Mr. Asquith declined to accept the proposal. Thereupon Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law, acting in harmony with Sir Edward Carson, produced other schemes, to none of which Mr. Asquith agreed. It was not until the evening of Sunday, December 3, that Mr. Asquith agreed with Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law on the constitution and functions of the new Committee. He did not accept the suggestions as to personnel, although, judging from an announcement which he issued that evening, he was quite confident that the personal difficulty would be solved. Up to this time the Northcliffe press had not intervened in the discussion, and apparently had no knowledge that the War Council was to be reconstructed. On learning that an accommodation was likely to be arrived at which would keep Mr. Asquith in office as Prime Minister, with Mr. Lloyd George exercising greater responsibility as chairman in the absence of Mr. Asquith from the War Council, the London "Times" published a very malicious article. A great deal of political intrigue took place during that week. Some of his Conservative colleagues urged Mr. Asquith to reform his Government and disregard Mr. Lloyd George's claims. A hitch in the negotiations led Mr. Lloyd George to resign office. The next step was Mr. Asquith's resignation and the end of the Government. Mr. Bonar Law declined to form an administration; and it was not until the King called a conference of the leaders of all parties that Mr. Lloyd George, at his Majesty's command, consented to take up the task of forming a Government. Mr. Asquith in the meantime had declined to serve under either Mr. Bonar Law or Mr. Balfour. He was quite convinced that they could not form a Government without his co-operation, which was true; he was equally confident that Mr. Lloyd George would also fail, which was a miscalculation. Mr. Asquith was justified in arriving at this conclusion by his view of the political atmosphere at the time. It was believed that some of the most prominent Conservatives would decline to join Mr. Lloyd George, and that Labor would also refuse to enter into a partnership with him.

Mr. Lloyd George had now to choose between becoming Prime Minister himself or allowing the war to be, as he thought, waged with lack of vigor. He decided to try to form a Government. He proceeded first to form his small Cabinet of five, including in it a representative of Labor. Mr. Balfour agreed to take the Foreign Secretaryship, a position which he was capable of filling with much more distinction than that of First Lord of the Admiralty. Without general Labor support in Parliament Mr. Lloyd George could not complete his Ministry. He called a meeting of members of the Labor party, inside and outside the House of Commons, laid before them a programme of great social and economic reforms, and promised them a large share in his administration, with the result that, so far from the Labor leaders declining to join him—as Mr. Asquith and some of his colleagues had anticipated—they, on the contrary, gladly co-operated with him. Only the Socialist section held aloof, which was to be expected. The new Prime Minister endeavored to bring in some of Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues, but his approaches were declined, and he ascertained that an informal understanding had been arrived at by Mr. Asquith and ten of his colleagues that they would not serve under him. He therefore completed his administration without them. It is unfortunate that Mr. Asquith and his friends held aloof. Mr. Asquith is a man of great ability and experience, and his absence from the Government has been a source of weakness, as it has impaired national unity.

All friends of progress in England deplore the fact that there still exists a division in the ranks of the progressive forces more deeply rooted than appears on the surface. It is due partly to personal jealousies and misunderstandings; but means may yet be found to reconcile the present divergent influences. The partnership between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George had been a most fruitful one for progress. Mr. Lloyd George was the man who produced the great constructive measures of Liberalism during the ten years of Mr. Asquith's Premiership; Mr. Asquith was the restraining and unifying influence within the party. Mr. Lloyd George is not now thinking of party interests or of his own future; he is, as he has been, completely absorbed in his work for the successful prosecution of the war.

What will happen after the war cannot at present be foreseen. A section of the Liberal party declare that Mr. Lloyd George is already lost to democracy. As chief of a coalition Government, which is at present predominatingly Conservative, the Prime Minister has frequently to be the exponent of a policy which is not his own, but represents the collective views of three parties. Mr. Asquith found himself in a somewhat similar position. Mr. Lloyd George's political position cannot therefore be gauged by his attitude on any particular question, but by an analysis of his political character. Everything must now be subordinated to the overwhelming influence of the war, and no one is more completely under that influence than Mr. Lloyd George. In examining the part which he has played since the war began and in arriving at any appreciative understanding of his position, one must assume that he, of all British statesmen, has been and is best fitted to inspire the nation and to take the lead in directing the war policy. He is seen in that spirit by our allies; and the enthusiasm for Mr. Lloyd George on the part of the armies and democracies of France and Italy is a tribute to his genius and an acknowledgment of his great services in the war to England and to them. The war has strengthened his democratic sympathies and enlarged his vision. He will emerge from the struggle, to which he is giving all his energies and devotion, with a bigger outlook and a firmer belief that the future of mankind and civilization depends on the destruction of militarism and the solid foundation of democracy in a league of peaceful nations.

London, June 14, 1917.

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THE UNROMANTIC ENGLISH

BY JAMES N. HALL

AUTHOR OF "KITCHENER'S MOB," ETC.

Since this article was received a cable report from Paris stated that Corporal Hall, who is an American aviator and a member of the Lafayette Flying Corps, as well as author of one of the best-known books about the war, had been killed in an encounter with a German airplane. Later despatches contradicted this statement, and reported that Corporal Hall had been badly wounded, but that there was a probability of his recovery. In the fight in which he was wounded no fewer than eight German airplanes were engaged; it was a remarkable feat that Corporal Hall, after being shot through the lung, should manage to bring his machine down within the French lines.—THE EDITORS.

"HERE she is," said Courtright, with a sweeping gesture, "patiently waiting at every street corner, shouting and gesticulating from the housetops, and they neither see nor hear. It's amazing, astounding! I never would have believed it!"

Now, a poet would not have said that she—Romance—shouts from the housetops; and he would have chosen a more picturesque way of describing her ubiquity in war-time London. But Courtright isn't a poet. Furthermore, he was so incensed at what he called "the Englishman's callous indifference to that rare and spiritual nature of hers," that he was unconscious of his own disrespect. However, making allowance for a certain exuberant coarseness of fancy, what he said seemed true.

"We have seen her in a thousand different guises, haven't we?" he went on, as our bus worked a cautious passage through the traffic of the darkened streets. And then, without waiting for a reply, "If London, England, isn't her home in these days, I should like to know where she may be found."

The lights of Piccadilly flickered dimly, like rows of shaded candles. Overhead the searchlights were carefully scrutinizing the clouded sky. The dazzling rays were like long white fingers poking about in heaps of carded wool. Now for a moment one would rest upon a piled-up mass of luminous mist, examining with infinite patience every fold, every curve, every hollow. Then it would pass slowly on or sweep swiftly across the broad arc of the sky to some yet unexplored region. Suddenly scores of brilliant shafts of light would be centered upon one spot. Great masses of billowing cloud glowed with such splendor that one could imagine the high gods were at festival in some vast banquet hall of the upper air. The effect passed the beautiful. We poor earth-creeping things gazed up enviously from a darkened world. Remembering that all this was but one of the many by-products of war, I felt a thrill of delight.

"You're right," I said. "She lives here; or better, perhaps, up there."

"But Londoners don't know it. Englishmen don't know it."

"I'm not so sure about that. How can we say? What right have we to judge—"

"What right?" he interrupted so vehemently that I had to remind him that we were not alone on top of the bus. "Why, the evidence of our own eyes, man. The daily and hourly report of our own ears. Here's this bus, for example. Now, if you didn't know it, would you imagine for a moment that these people belonged to a warring nation? Have they an inkling that this is the most romantic war in all history and London the most romantic capital in all Europe?"

In the two front seats four soldiers were singing a song highly uncomplimentary to the German nation in general and to the German army in particular. The refrain was as follows:

"Cheer, boys, cheer!
Britannia rules the waves.
Big and little Willie are a pair of blinkin' knaves!
Shout it out at the top of your voice:
'Damn the German army!'
Oh, what a happy land is Eng-land!"

Behind them a group of girls heartily applauded these sentiments, shouting, "'Core! 'core!" at the end of each verse. Immediately in front of us two men in mufti, quite unconscious of their surroundings, were deep in an abstruse religious discussion. One of them was saying:

"If you can show me one instance—only one, mind you—where an intelligent effect has been produced by a blind, unintelligent cause, I'll believe you."

"But, my dear fellow, you are dodging the issue. I've already told you—" etc., etc.

The only other upstairs passenger sat opposite. He was smoking a cigarette. Occasionally as we passed a dim street lamp we saw his head and shoulders in silhouette. But we had no way of knowing his thoughts.

"We must give him the benefit of the doubt," whispered Courtright. "But I'm inclined to think he doesn't deserve it."

This rather nettled me. In fact, Courtright's whole attitude toward the English seemed to me prejudiced. His opinions had been gathered from books, and, having read somewhere that the English are lacking in imagination, he intended to prove this to his own satisfaction by the light of first-hand observation. I had lived in England for nearly a year at one time, and, while my impressions were rather general ones, I took an opposite view. Therefore upon this occasion I asked him what, in the name of common sense, he expected these homeward-bound passengers to do? Did he want them to strike attitudes and say, "Ah! romance! romance!" in stage whispers, or to gaze at the sky with glances full of mysterious meaning, or what?

And he said: "Of course not. I merely want them to be natural, and that is just what they are being. All I have been trying to do is to convince you that they have no sense of romance. It is nothing in their disfavor. They are not to blame for it."

"But," said I, "are we to judge a nation by a mere handful of people on the top of a bus? Would you have English visitors in America form their opinions so lightly?"

"Well taken," said Courtright. "We must send our letters of introduction to-morrow. And then," with objectionable conviction, "we shall see what we shall see."

Several days after this we received our first invitation to dine in an Englishman's home—a cordial letter that warmed our hearts. We accepted gladly, knowing that the welcome would be a sincere and kindly one. The dinner party consisted of our host and hostess, their son of sixteen, just home from the midsummer holidays, an elderly lady, a younger lady, and ourselves. We had a most delightful evening. It is permissible to speak light-heartedly of it, for no one there had as yet suffered any personal loss because of the war. They had sons and brothers and nephews fighting in the four corners of the world, but, as our host said, "Thank Heaven, all are safe so far."

Courtright's face was a study in pleasurable anticipation as the conversation became general and mention was made of relatives and friends in the Royal Flying Corps, the Garrison Artillery—in fact, in almost every branch of army or navy service. I, too, waited expectantly. This was just what we both wanted: intimate personal war-time stories from the lips of English people. Our host was speaking.

"Yes, Walter is a reckless lad. What do you think he is doing now? Taking photographs of German trenches while sitting on the wings! It's a large biplane, you know, and they have rigged up some sort of balancing contrivance. It's as solid as a rock, he says; but I suspect he's exaggerating somewhat."

Elderly Lady. Just fancy! I wonder how he manages it? It must be rather thrilling.

Younger Lady. It *is* sporting of him! I shouldn't think he'd like perching up there under shell-fire.

Hostess. But he does it. That's why I worry about him. But what can one say to a boy like that? John, dear, I know these men would like a whisky-and-soda. Won't you please not be so lazy?

Host. By Jove, yes! I'm very sorry. But wouldn't you prefer a cocktail? That's your favorite drink in America, isn't it? I'm very fond of a cocktail myself. Come along. The ladies will excuse us.

Courtright and I cast all differences aside in our efforts to

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get the details of this story of high adventure. Our host was greatly amused.

"You Americans are odd fish," he said. "There is really nothing more to tell. He does the thing somehow, and that's all there is to it. At any rate, that is all he has told me about it."

"The censorship must be very aggravating," said Courtright. "But won't he have some tales for you when he comes home!"

"Oh, he's been home, you know," said our host. "He had a week's furlough last month. He said the weather was beastly, and that the things his mother sent him were just what he needed, and that the Boche airmen were rather good sports. That's about all we could get out of him."

Later in the evening the elderly lady, in speaking of a favorite nephew, said that he was quite himself again, now that he had forgotten the taste of that horrible food at the prison camp.

Hostess (*to us*). He escaped from Germany, you know. (*To elderly lady.*) My dear, won't you tell these gentlemen about it?

Elderly Lady. I shall be glad to. You see, Ralph was taken prisoner—let me see, when was it?—a year ago last April, I think. You remember—that awful battle—at Ypres or somewhere near there. Well, after a long time they transferred them, along with some Russians, from one prison camp to another. Ralph and three of his comrades crawled out of a window while the train was on a siding and hid in a cornfield. They had no compass and the sun refused to shine; but they got into Holland, after thirty hours' tramping without a bite to eat. In some way or other they were smuggled on board an English boat and reached home the next day.

Younger Lady. Oh! About their getting civilian clothing in Germany. I've always meant to ask you how they did it.

Elderly Lady. Well, do you know, Ralph has never told me. I must ask him that. But I suppose they bought them somewhere.

This is the whole of the narrative, told, as Courtright said later, "literally between yawn and yawn;" but it was not so bad as that. The elderly lady was really pleased at our interest, and gave us what she doubtless regarded as an adequate account of the episode. Indeed, it seemed to be regarded as adequate by the rest of the party, for the conversation turned to other matters. Some one mentioned an article in a current review, an interview with George Moore about the decline of art.

"Locomotion the death of art!" said the elderly lady. "Now who but George Moore would have thought of saying that?"

"And he says he's been all his life making the discovery," said the younger lady. "But there is really something in the idea. It seems to me—" etc., etc., until 10:30, when the party broke up.

Supposing England to have been America, England's wars our wars, England's fighting sons, brothers, nephews, and noncombatant hosts, hostesses, elderly ladies, younger ladies, America's, could such an evening as this, with perfunctory discussions of hairbreadth escapes and perilous adventures, have taken place in any home in New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco—where not? Courtright put some such question to me as we walked homeward through the starlit streets. He nearly forgot his chagrin at being starved in the midst of romantic plenty in his delight at scoring a point favoring his contention that the English lack imagination. I confessed that I didn't think it could have happened at home. Such tales as we had heard mentioned with ruthless brevity would be, not only family property, but National property, within a week after the events had taken place, censorship or no censorship. They would have been read in minute detail at every breakfast-table from Maine to California. However, I explained to Courtright that this is not the English way. An Englishman would be piping hot if he were to read of his exploits in a London newspaper.

"Whisky and soda!" said Courtright. "What a palliative for two men thirsting for romance! But I was watching you. When Mr. —— mentioned the biplane episode you looked as though you needed a bracer."

Heretofore in our adventures in and about London I had taken the lead, explaining and interpreting to Courtright by reason of my broader experience with English people. But after the "whisky-and-soda adventure," as Courtright called it, he assumed the dictatorship. He had been right and I wrong about English imagination, or the lack of it. Therefore, according to his reasoning, it followed that my judgments of the nation in other respects were out of focus. To make matters worse, our later experiences as guests in English homes were very similar to the first one. We listened to the adventures of innumerable other Ralphs and Walters discussed in the same blunt way, as though they were only matter for the most trivial of small talk. Usually it was when conversation lagged that these stories were brought in to fill the gaps. No one but ourselves ever expressed more than a polite interest in them. There were no tense pauses, no cries of, "Yes! Go on! What happened then?" Just a casual, "We've heard from Richard, from Mrs. A. He says he's been given the D.S.O."

Mrs. B. Really? How splendid! [meaning, How nice!]

Mrs. A. Yes, poor boy, he's quite bucked up over it. He says he has no idea why he has been given it. He is a machine-gun officer, you know, and it seems they were in some kind of an attack.

Young A. Person. And what was it he said, mother, about it's being just like shooting partridges?

Mr. B. Not bad, that. I think I should like game shooting of that sort myself.

Mrs. B. You do very well, my dear, at your drilling. (*To Mr. A.*) Don't you think he's improved since he joined the Reserve Corps?

Mr. A. Improved! He's ten years younger! Never did a a more sensible thing in his life! [And so on, but no further mention of Richard.]

Courtright left me at the end of a month. The night before he was to sail we had dinner at a garish restaurant on Piccadilly that he might carry away with him "a last vivid impression of the romantically unromantic English." Just what he meant by that I do not know. It is true that all the evidence was in, and that, without exception, it favored his original opinion. But I contested that it was wholly inadequate. It was preposterous to say that we knew England, that we had got to the heart of the nation in a month. In so far as the evidence itself was concerned, the fact that it all tended to support his typically American view-point was a proof of English courtesy rather than of English stolidity. "They are almost morbidly afraid of boring you with talk about their own affairs," I said. "And, to my way of thinking, it is a quality which needs developing in America."

Courtright smiled in an indulgent, fatherly way.

"My dear Anglophile," he said, "you are a benevolent neutral. I am neutral in the Wilson interpretation. I like the English. I don't admire them as you do, perhaps; but still I like them. I am ready to admit that our investigations have not been exhaustive, but it's absurd for you to contend that I have no right to form any opinions whatsoever. We have been at this thing for more than a month. We have been house guests and dinner guests when all manner of strange and interesting matters have been discussed quite frankly and openly. We have been told of events which are not known outside of England, and not widely known even here. Therefore you can't say that we have been made strangers in these homes. There has been no secrecy, no war-time discretion. You know that.

"Furthermore, we have gone to the theaters and music halls. We have attended concerts and lectures and public demonstrations. We have visited hospitals and convalescent homes, talked with soldiers from the trenches and soldiers in training, officers as well as men in the ranks. And we haven't an atom of evidence to show that these English people think of the war other than as a piece of grim business which they must get on with and finish to the everlasting glory and honor of the Empire."

"Well," I said, "what would you have them do—swagger around the restaurants and cafés like the officers in a musical comedy and boast of their exploits?"

"Certainly not; but I would have them show a decent regard for the romantic possibilities of war. It's all 'beastly weather,' or 'a bit lively now and again,' or 'rather a messy job'—you

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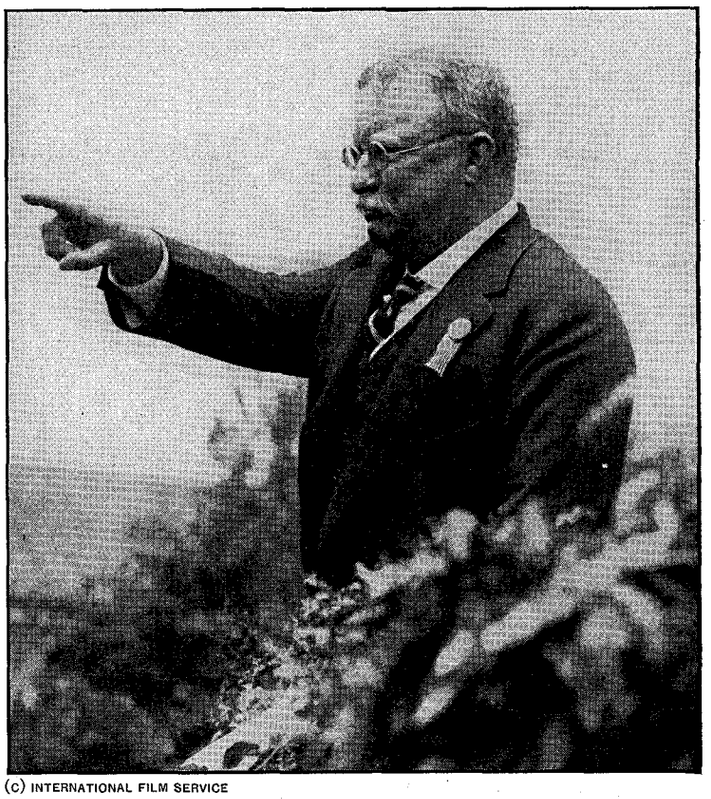
CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

(C) PAUL THOMPSON

SARAH BERNHARDT CHEERING AMERICA IN PROSPECT PARK, BROOKLYN

The great French actress has recovered from the effects of a recent operation and is again active



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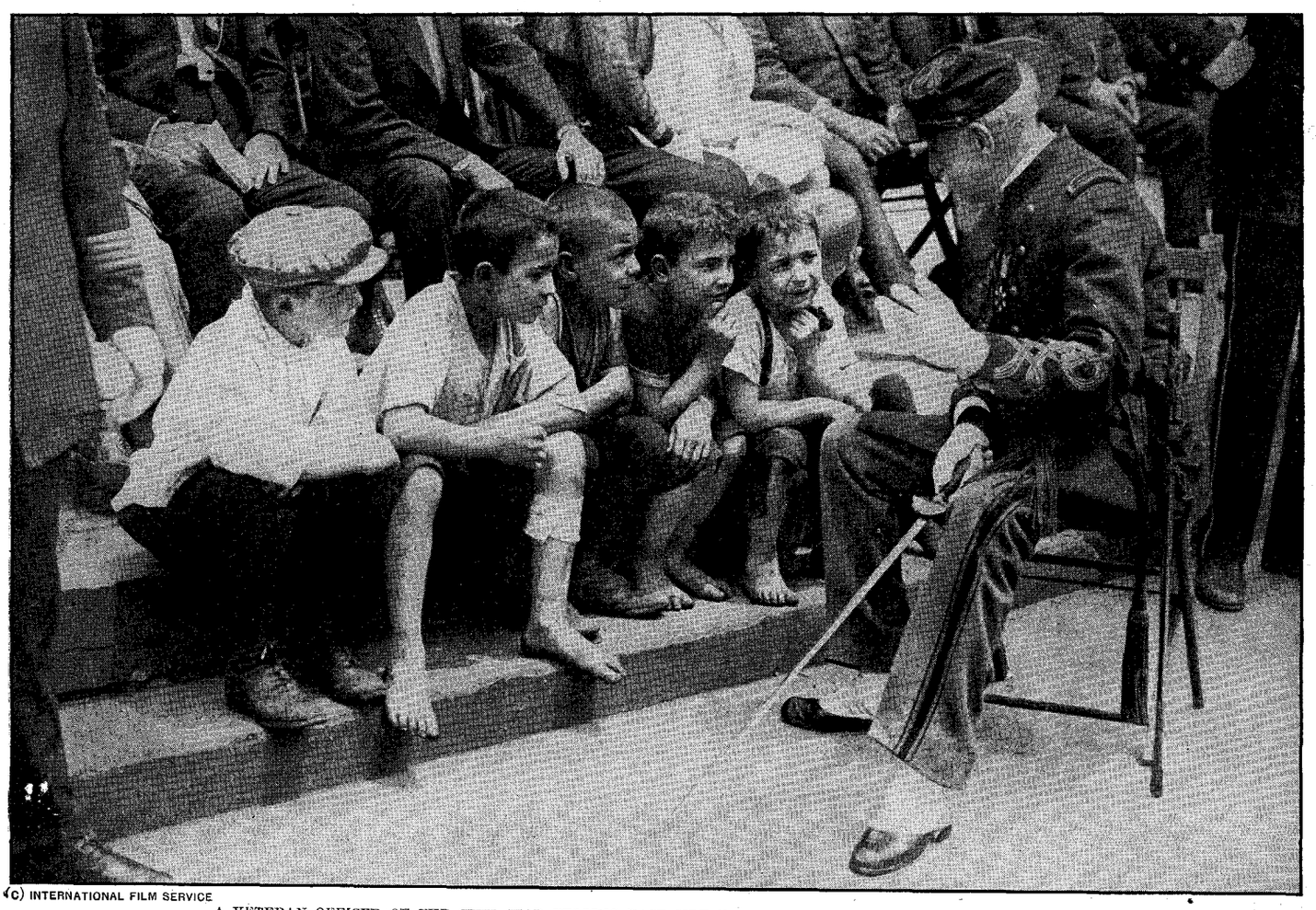
THEODORE ROOSEVELT ADDRESSING A GREAT THRONG AT FOREST HILLS, L. I.

Mr. Roosevelt in his Fourth of July address emphasized the duty of residents of this country to be outright Americans



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A VETERAN OFFICER OF THE CIVIL WAR TELLING EAST SIDE NEW YORK BOYS THE STORY OF HIS BATTLES

FEATURES OF A WAR-TIME FOURTH OF JULY

The celebration of the Fourth this year was one of the quietest in our history. The fact that we are engaged in the greatest of wars lent a more serious tone than usual to the celebration

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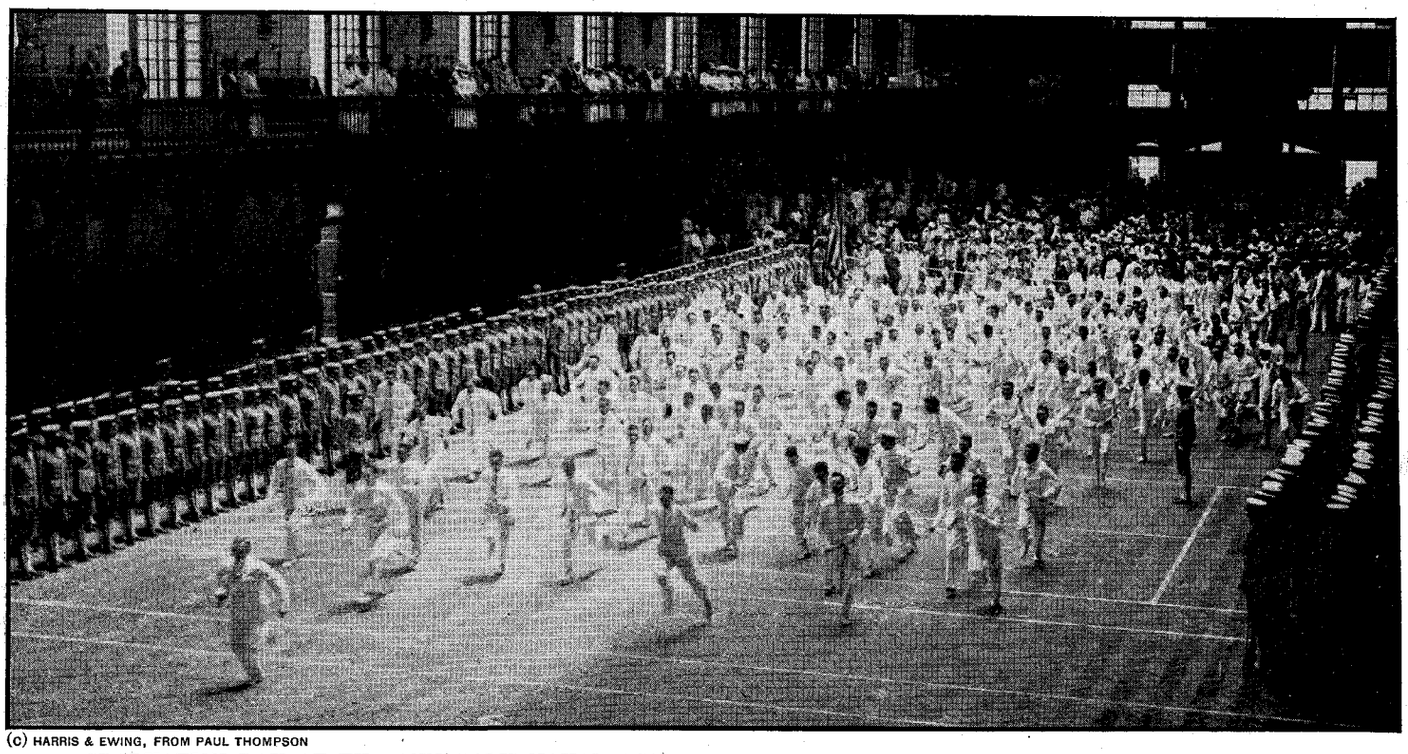
A WAR "TANK" IN OPERATION IN SAN FRANCISCO

This machine, in maneuvers with California Coast Artillery in Golden Gate Park, is said to have successfully broken through barbed-wire entanglements and even a brick wall

PHOTOGRAPH BY CENTRAL NEWS PHOTO SERVICE

INTERNED GERMAN SAILORS AT FORT McPHERSON, GEORGIA

These sailors, taken from the raiders Prinz Eitel Friedrich and the Kronprinz Wilhelm, have been set to work constructing new quarters, which will, when completed, house 2,500 of their compatriots



(c) HARRIS & EWING, FROM PAUL THOMPSON

GRADUATION DAY AT THE ANNAPOLIS NAVAL ACADEMY—THE FORMER MIDSHIPMEN, NOW ENSIGNS, LEAVING AFTER THE EXERCISES

The graduating exercises this year were held earlier than usual, owing to the war conditions

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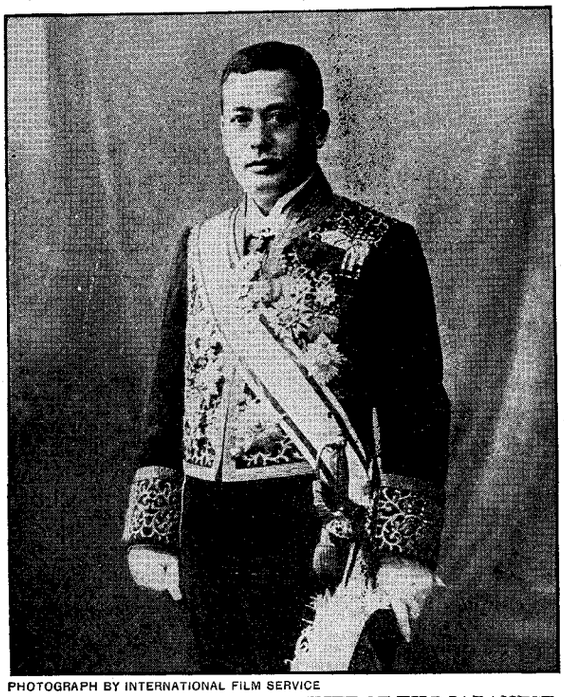
THE EFFECTS OF A "BOSTON TEA PARTY" OF 1917—PACIFIST LITERATURE SCATTERED TO THE WINDS

Soldiers and sailors in Boston are said to have been at the front in a spontaneous outburst of indignation that resulted in the breaking up of a Socialist peace parade and the destruction of Socialist and pacifist literature as shown in the above picture

PHOTOGRAPH FROM CENTRAL NEWS PHOTO SERVICE

THE REACTION IN CHINA—GENERAL CHANG HSUN'S OLD-STYLE TROOPS ON THE MARCH

The deposition of China's President and the endeavor to restore the Manchus show the strength of the reactionary forces in China. See editorial comment



PHOTOGRAPH BY INTERNATIONAL FILM SERVICE

VISCOUNT KIKUJIRO ISHII, CHIEF OF THE JAPANESE MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES

Viscount Ishii was formerly Japanese Ambassador to France. He has occupied the post of Foreign Minister in the Japanese Government

(C) INTERNATIONAL FILM SERVICE

FRIGHTFULNESS IN EAST ST. LOUIS

In order to prevent the competition of Negro labor, mobs murdered colored men, women, and children. The photograph shows an aged Negro telling his story to rescuers who had saved him from the lynchers. See editorial comment

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know the things they say, the exasperating way they have of dismissing it. I'm not sure that it isn't a pose with them. It doesn't seem quite honest. They need some of our frank American egotism."

I might have taken issue with him here. I might have reminded him that in all our wanderings we had seen no one making either public or private display of sorrow, and this at a time when there was scarcely a home which had not suffered some personal loss. I might have mentioned the dinner at which he sat opposite a distinguished Englishman who had lost his third son only the week before, and who chatted with him about the war as cheerfully and brightly as though he himself were only an interested onlooker. This was but one instance of many that I might have brought forward in refutation of so absurd a statement. But it was our last evening together, and Courtright was in a delightfully whimsical mood. Therefore I decided to say nothing, however pertinent, that would have a sobering effect. He was nearing the end of a long peroration when I next gave him my attention. "It's true, man! They admit it. They were more than a year in waking up to the fact that the war is really their affair, and one in which they have an actual personal interest. How long do you suppose it will be before they see and appreciate the romance of it? Twenty-five years, I should say, possibly longer."

A few days later, when I was pondering this last remark, truth, crushed to earth by this opinionated American, rose again. In a flash of insight came the brilliant rejoinder I should have made. It explained everything. I could have silenced him forever with it. I pictured to myself his beaten, baffled look as I made this parting and triumphant thrust:

"Quite right; and do you know why? It is because romance is realism at a distance. It is nothing more than grim, forbidding reality seen at the end of a vista, either of time or of space. In our case it is the space element that counts. America is three thousand miles away. It is all very well for us to rhapsodize about the romance of war. Our towns and cities are not being raided by Zeppelins, our schools and universities and public buildings have not been converted into hospitals. We have no full-page casualty lists, no rolls of honor to read at the breakfast table," etc. It is hard to refrain from giving the rest of my triumphant rebuttal. But, like all of those excellent speeches, it came too late to be of service. Courtright was at least a thousand miles out at sea, and the wireless rate was prohibitive.

BEVERIDGE'S LIFE OF MARSHALL[1]

A REVIEW

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

JOHN MARSHALL is one of the six or eight foremost figures of American statesmanship. He stands among the men who actually did the constructive work of building a coherent National fabric out of the loose jumble of exhausted and squabbling little commonwealths left on the Atlantic coast by the ebb of the Revolutionary War. This was an incredibly difficult work, because it had to be forced on a suspicious, short-sighted, and reluctant people by a small number of really great leaders. Foremost among these great leaders was Washington. Behind him, and serving him and his principles with fervent loyalty, were Hamilton and Marshall. Hamilton's extraordinary career of usefulness was crowded into the half-dozen years following the Constitutional Convention—a short period, but one during which his services were as signal as any ever rendered a nation in time of peace, while in intellect he showed a combination of brilliancy and solidity literally unparalleled in political annals. Marshall's career of greatness and usefulness really began only after Hamilton's had come to an end. It was less showy than Hamilton's, but much more long-continued, and the resulting benefit to the Nation was as substantial.

Mr. Beveridge is peculiarly fitted to write the biography of the great Nationalist Chief Justice. He has himself played a distinguished part in our political life, and during his brilliant service of twelve years in the United States Senate he championed with fidelity all the honorable causes for which Marshall and his fellow-Federalists stood a century before; he emulated their devoted Nationalism, their advocacy of military preparedness, their insistence upon a wide application of the powers of the Government under the National Constitution, and their refusal to worship shams instead of facts; and he followed Abraham Lincoln in refusing to follow the Federalists where they were wrong—that is, in their distrust of and high-spirited impatience with the people.

Only the first two volumes of the "Life" have been published. Their quality is such that, if the remaining volumes (which will deal with the overshadowingly important part of Marshall's career while he was Chief Justice) are as good, Mr. Beveridge will have produced a book which in serious worth will belong among the very few books of American political biography which stand in the first rank and form a class by themselves. Zeal, research, impartiality, acuteness of observation, and the power to write with interest and charm—all these combine to make Beveridge's Life of Marshall almost as interesting to the cultivated general reader as to the man who is by profession a student of politics.

John Marshall came of the ordinary, plain, colonial stock; on his father's side, at least, his ancestors were of the usual successful immigrant type, which did not in colonial days differ essentially from the type of to-day, save as regards some special groups which came over to avoid religious or political persecution. Marshall himself was in the best sense of the term a self-made man. As a very young man he served in the Continental Army under Washington, honorably but without special distinction. He earned his living as a hard-working Virginia lawyer; and Mr. Beveridge gives us interesting glimpses of his home life and of the pleasant, thoroughly provincial social life of the Virginia of his day. As a lawyer he showed marked ability, and Mr. Beveridge points out in striking fashion the boldness with which he relied on his own reasoning and the comparatively scant attention which he paid to precedents. This is an admirable quality in a profession like the law, which always tends to become formalized or fossilized; and it is not merely an admirable, but an indispensable, quality in a great judge of the American type. The American judges who have left their mark deepest on history did so while acting, not really as judges at all, but as lawgivers; for, although nominally they only interpreted, in reality they made the law. In consequence, a judge like Marshall occupies in history a place such as no European judge could possibly have occupied.

Marshall was an entirely democratic man in every sense of the word which makes it a word of praise. He had not a particle of arrogance in dealing with others; was simple, straightforward, and unaffected, being at ease in the court-room or in any public gathering, with any neighbor of no matter what social standing. There was about him none of that starched self-consciousness which men who are more anxious to seem great than to be great are so apt to mistake for dignity. Indeed, it is apparent that in dress and in manner he was rather easy-going; during the years before he became Chief Justice the Jeffersonians complained bitterly that his specious aspect of democracy misled people into believing that he was not at heart an aristocrat. As a matter of fact, it was his democracy which was real and theirs which was spurious. He despised and detested shams. He was a struggling man of moderate means, like his great fellow-Federalist Hamilton; neither had in him one touch of the demagogue or the insincere rhetorician; each

[1] The Life of John Marshall. By Albert J. Beveridge. 2 vols. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

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regarded with scorn the mob spirit, especially when manifested in ferocious and lawbreaking envy of upright men of means; but each also sincerely endeavored to judge every man on his worth as a man and to shape the institutions and policy of his country with an eye single to the large National interests of the people as a whole.

Politically Marshall followed Washington, and steadily and earnestly supported and developed Washington's great policies. This inevitably threw him into sharp opposition to Jefferson, who was the underhanded but malignantly bitter leader of the anti-National forces which gradually rallied against the Washington policies. Virginia was then the leading State of the Union, and its attitude was of vital consequence. It was in a way proud of Washington, and his great character carried immense weight among Virginians as among all other Americans. There were certain Virginian leaders, among whom Marshall and "Lighthorse Harry" Lee were the most important, who were as strongly National in their beliefs and sympathies as Washington himself, and who were his consistent supporters; and there were other Virginian leaders who at one crisis or another supported Washington and the vital cause of National union—Madison at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, which Patrick Henry opposed, and Patrick Henry at the time of the nullification of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, which Madison fathered jointly with Jefferson, showing sheep-like submission to the abler, more crafty, and more unscrupulous man. Mr. Beveridge brings out clearly the way in which, partly owing to the adroit and successful demagogy of Jefferson, Virginia finally became so estranged from Washington that when his Administration was closing the Legislature actually refused to pass a formal resolution approving the wisdom of his course as President.

During the dozen years subsequent to the meeting of the Convention which produced the Constitution that made us a Nation Marshall practiced law at intervals, and between times served in the State Legislature, went as one of a commission on the famous "X. Y. Z." mission to the Republic of France, served a term in Congress, served a few months in President John Adams's Cabinet, and was appointed Chief Justice by Adams just before the latter left the Presidency. He was a strong Federalist, but, unlike the dominant men of the party after they lost their leader, Washington, he never lost his head, and declined to go with his party when it unwisely defied popular feeling (in the case of the Alien and Sedition Laws) by enacting legislation which the people *ought* to have approved, but which, as a matter of fact, they did not. No man was more ready to defy popular feeling when the crisis was so vital as to demand such defiance; but he was far too wise to treat this defiance as being normally desirable, or, indeed, as being desirable at all unless the case really was exceptional. Moreover, from the very fact that he lived in Virginia, which was rapidly becoming anti-National, he was himself far more truly National, with a far broader understanding of the National feelings and needs, than the New England and New York Federalists.

One of the grimly amusing features of his experience was the way in which the Jeffersonian or anti-National opponents of the adoption of the Constitution soon after turned round and simulated excessive zeal for the letter of the Constitution in order to destroy its spirit. Marshall, the champion of the Constitution when its adoption was in question and its greatest expounder after its adoption, was, of course, the leader in giving it a broad construction, in reading into it whatever was necessary in order to make it fulfill its purpose of securing justice for the people as a whole, in their National capacity. He was utterly incapable of treating it as a fetish or as a strait-jacket. The very men, however, who had opposed the adoption of the Constitution, immediately after it was adopted began, in the name of the Constitution, to oppose as "unconstitutional" the measures most necessary in order to make it effective as an instrument of National growth and defense. Jefferson and his followers took precisely the attitude adopted by the disciples of Calhoun during Jackson's Presidency and by the Vallandighams and Seymours during Lincoln's Presidency. Substantially the same attitude has been taken in our own time by the beneficiaries of abuses of a different kind, who likewise invoked the name of the Constitution in order to nullify efforts made to secure efficiency and justice for the plain, every-day citizens as a whole, through and under a broad construction of the Constitution.

Marshall had a rather bitter experience of popular folly in connection with the French Revolutionary craze which swept over the country. The Federalists did badly enough; their antagonism to the un-American and indeed quasi-treasonable championship of France against America by their opponents finally led them into an equally un-American and quasi-treasonable championship of England; but during the last decade of the eighteenth century it was these opponents, the Jeffersonians, who were wholly in the wrong.

The majority of the men who had done the real fighting in our own Revolutionary War became stanch Nationalists, and saw so much of the evil that springs from weak government and from lawlessness and disorder that they were among the strongest upholders of a strong government and of the efficient military forces without which there can be no strength. But the mass of those people who had shirked fighting were loud in mere talk against Great Britain and against monarchy, and in favor, not merely of a republican France, but even of the French Government when it had sunk under the control of groups of corrupt and blood-stained bandits to whom both liberty and honesty were in practice terms of derision. Marshall found on his mission to France that the highest French officials, including Talleyrand, expected to be bribed to perform even their ordinary official duties, and were as callously indifferent to all right and decency as the most obscurantist despot. Yet on his return he found Jefferson and his followers utterly indifferent both to the character of the French rulers and to the outrages committed by France against America, and anxious only to use the international situation as a means of humiliating their party antagonists, at no matter what cost to their country. Moreover, they combined with exquisite nicety two separate kinds of folly: the folly that blusteringly invites war, and the folly that rejects all preparation for war—like those present-day anti-Japanese agitators who have demanded or condoned action offensive to the Japanese while they have also screamed in favor of applied pacifism.

At the end of the eighteenth century the voters of this type were so numerous that Washington found himself wholly without the means of supporting the National honor and interest by war, or the serious threat of war, against the two powerful nations, France and England, which rivaled one another in outrages against the United States. The only course open to him under such conditions was a strict neutrality and the negotiation of treaties which saved as much of our credit as was possible, but which were humiliating, indeed, compared to what they would have been if Washington had possessed the ships and the army to warrant his taking a bold stand. And the very men who refused all his demands to build up the military strength of the country were also the very men who denounced him for following the only policy which the lack of military strength left open to him.

It is small wonder that strong, self-respecting, fearless men like John Marshall and Lighthorse Harry Lee grew to regard such men with scornful aversion. And their feeling of mingled bitterness and contempt was rendered only more intense by the triumph of their adversaries. The Federalists upheld the honor and the interest of the country, and, on the whole, represented what was highest and best in the American character. But their leading statesmen were riven by jealousies, and they developed very little of the not very high, but in popularly governed communities absolutely necessary, ability for political manipulation. Their opponents on the other side developed two past-masters of adroit partisan politics in Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Aaron Burr, of New York; and when New York joined Virginia (Jefferson and Burr being their party's candidates for President and Vice-President respectively) the election went against Adams. With his defeat the Federalist party vanished forever from the field of National influence, save for one vital exception. Just before Adams left office he appointed as Chief Justice the man who for the next thirty years was to be the one great force for American Nationalism—John Marshall.

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THE READER'S VIEW

IRELAND AND THE IRISH

It is a pity that in your article styled "Ireland Forever — Ireland" (June 27 last) you were so prompt to disregard the warning of your correspondent, "Let us not in America fly off on a tangent and murder logic."

It is not good taste in a litterateur to begin *ab ovo*, but it is a grievous mistake for a philosopher not to begin *ex ultimis causis*. Philosophy is a study *per ultimas causas*, while sophistry begins at a convenient place in the category of causes, and labels the one gratuitously selected the *causa ultima*.

The writer's insinuations and bald statements about Ireland and Irishmen were as caustic as they were general and stale—the kind of statements conceded because "every one knows that they are true," but not because any one has ever proved them so.

The writer begins very cleverly, with the conclusion he wishes to draw before him, then works back to a convenient cause and stops. Such cleverness, however, is the art of a philosophical prestidigitateur, and the trick is easily detected by any one with a moderate amount of philosophical training.

Why not go back one step further at least and approach the conclusion from there? You say, "'You know very well we cannot agree among *ourselves*,'" but you carefully avoid answering the question, Why?

If a person were to interfere in a family and by falsehood and deceit poison the minds of that family until, let us say, the wife and husband were estranged and the children divided so that some adhered to the father and the rest to the mother, has that person no responsibility in readjusting the affairs of that family? Or, rather, can such affairs be readjusted until that hypocrite admits his crime? Can they ever be readjusted while he adds to his sin by standing aside and saying, "Now, I am a very kind fellow; I shall not interfere in your personal affairs, but shall very magnanimously allow you to settle them yourselves"?

England is that person and Ireland that family.

From the day when Ireland was bought over and forced by subsequent taxes to pay the price of her own slavery England had not ceased to embitter the two factions by fostering the spirit of the minority and enslaving the majority, until this last generous standing aside and saying, "Now, I am a very kind mother country; I shall not interfere in this trouble at all, but shall very magnanimously allow you to settle it yourselves."

Briefly as to the other points.

"American colonies knew how to formulate their complaints and what was needed for redress."

Ireland also knew how to formulate her complaints, and England, as in the case of her American colonies, knew what was needed to disregard them. Ireland, like the colonies, knew what was needed for redress, but the presence of English soldiery and the lack of ammunition caused them to fail where the colonies succeeded. Was might right?

There is no need to call attention to the sad limp in your other comparison of the sanguine natures of Senators Lodge and Williams with the melancholy of Irish legislators, for the *claudicatio* was so marked that it didn't even escape your own notice, for you granted that Ireland *still* suffers injustice, thus destroying the point of the comparison.

A word about your friend, either imaginary or real, who thinks "the best way to get a constitution for Ireland would be to lock the delegates in a room and let the man that survives write it." Let me add that if Irish legislators possessed his keen sense of humor and subtle intellect I would be perfectly willing that the survivor should write the constitution of Ireland even if he were your friend himself—provided, of course, that he can write. T. L. C.

PROTECT THE CHILDREN

When America took her place in the world war, we down in Henry Street counseled together as to what rôle the settlement could play to render the best service to our country.

From England and from Canada came the warning not to close or curtail our usual work, as was done in those countries in 1914. In England juvenile crime has increased thirty-four per cent since the beginning of the war.

With many fathers and big brothers away, with the tension and strain due to abnormal conditions, the need of the settlement to stand by the people was never greater.

We realized that the war funds would claim huge sums, that people's hearts would turn first to the immediate sufferers, but we feel that our children must be protected.

So we have gone ahead with our usual summer plans. Twin Island is opened for the mothers and babies, the camps are running full swing for the boys and girls, our roof garden and our baths are crowded every day.

We believe that you will think it is a patriotic duty to help at home as well as abroad. At this crucial time, in our neighborhood of many nationalities, we ask you to save us from losing ground and help us to do our share in saving little citizens.

MARY RIIS.

The Jacob A. Riis Neighborhood
Settlement, 48 Henry Street,
New York City.

FEDERAL LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION

Next to the immediate problem of winning this war, the idea brought out by Mr. Frederick M. Davenport in The Outlook of May 23 is perhaps the most important one that should be receiving the attention of the country. My experience has shown that, instead of there being a willingness on the part of the States to acknowledge Federal educational leadership or on the part of the Federal Government to show such leadership, just the reverse is true. There are many schools in the country where foreign languages are taught to the exclusion of English, and it seems to me that under the defense powers of Congress the Federal Educational Department should have authority and determination to insist upon the teaching of English in all such cases.

Professor Steiner, in his book "Nationalizing America," points out that in one county of a Western State there are seventy-two independent school boards, and that some of these boards eliminated the school geography because that text-book taught that the earth was round, and such school boards also eliminated the English spelling-book. Such conditions, if correctly reported, certainly warrant the attention of a Federal department, as they assail the very safety of the Nation.

RAYMOND B. PRICE.

Washington, D. C.

"THE BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC"

I

Permit me to thank you for the admirable and timely suggestion in The Outlook that Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" be called an international battle hymn, for it seems to me that it was given to her for these very times and for every land. The last time I saw her she sang the hymn at a bazar in New York, and John Hutchinson and the audience sang it with her. I had previously heard her sing it in her beautiful country home near Newport, R. I. Next time I expect to hear her sing it in the "Better Land," when I may hope to join her in singing, as my Quaker birth and training forbade here.

(Rev. Mrs.) PHEBE A. HANAFORD.

Basom, New York.

II

The suggestion offered by our able leader Dr. Abbott that "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" be used as an international hymn is worthy of the widest publicity.

May I point out that this hymn has been included in the new Canadian Hymnal (and is number 115), issued last year, and that this hymn-book is the most popular and widely used book of song in the Dominion, and is insured the widest use here?

(Rev.) T. D. JONES.

Lamont, Alberta, Canada.

NAPOLEON AND BERNADOTTE

In an editorial article in The Outlook you make an erroneous statement which, although of no importance in its bearing on the question under discussion, I am sure you will like to correct. You say that "Napoleon . . . had put his own appointees on the thrones of Naples, Holland, Spain, and Sweden." The fact is that the then Marshal Bernadotte had been elected Crown Prince of Sweden in the regular way, as prescribed in the Constitution of Sweden, and it was after much hesitation that Napoleon gave his consent. He seemed intuitively to have felt that Bernadotte would in some way exert a disastrous influence on his (Napoleon's) future. This is evident from his parting words to Bernadotte: "Well, let then our fates be fulfilled." Napoleon's fears came true, for it cannot be gainsaid that the Crown Prince—the former Marshal Bernadotte—was largely instrumental in causing Napoleon's defeat and downfall.

O. A. LINDER.

Chicago, Illinois.

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THE NEW BOOKS

This department will include descriptive notes, with or without brief comments, about books received by The Outlook. Many of the important books will have more extended and critical treatment later

FICTION

Brown Study (The). By Grace S. Richmond. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.25.

Give My Love to Maria, and Other Stories. By Florence Guertin Tuttle. The Abingdon Press, New York. $1.

Lady with the Dog (The), and Other Stories. By Anton Chekhov. Translated by Constance Garnett. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

Plays by Jacinto Benavente. Translated, with Introduction, by John Garrett Underhill. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Ways of Jane (The). By Mary Finley Leonard. Duffield & Co., New York. $1.25.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

Little Days (The). By Frances Gill. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.50.

Poems and pictures for children, with something of the tone and charm of Stevenson's "Child's Garden of Verses."

BIOGRAPHY

Edward Judson, Interpreter of God. By Charles Hatch Sears, M.A., B.D. The Griffith & Rowland Press, Philadelphia.

This volume would have been of greater value to the public if its author had not been requested to treat Dr. Judson's life in its public rather than in its personal relations. For Dr. Judson's power was in his personality, and his life needed for its interpretation the revealing of that personality. He was a poet in the pulpit and a foreign missionary in the heart of New York City. To leave, as he did, a prosperous and influential suburban pastorate in order to go as a pioneer to one of the downtown sections of New York City required a self-denial all the more worthy of honor because it was without self-consciousness and was but little realized by others. He was almost as truly a pioneer as Eliot preaching to the Indians or Carey going to India; the Charity Organization had not taken a definite form in New York; the tenement-house reform was unknown; municipal lodging-houses had not been established; Dr. Rainsford had not yet begun his work of transforming St. George's Church; settlement work had not been begun; the fresh air movement was in its infancy; the very term "institutional church" had not been coined; the Christian Church was falling steadily behind the ratio of increase in population.

Such were the conditions in New York City when Edward Judson came to establish, not a mission, but a church that should be itself a mission; not where there was the greatest population to support it, but where there was the greatest population to need it. A single sentence indicates the spirit in which he entered on his lonely task: "I believe there is before me an invisible guide, and I propose to follow him." Mr. Sears has used so many of Dr. Judson's own utterances that the book has the flavor of an autobiography. The message of such a life never loses its significance. The endowment fund of $300,000 for his church is now about completed, and the church built by him as a memorial to his father will be not less a memorial to the son.

HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND POLITICS

Offender (The), and His Relations to Law and Society. By Burdette G. Lewis, A.B. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.

This book by the Commissioner of Correction of the City of New York is in two parts—the first dealing with the cure, the second with the prevention, of crime. Mr. Lewis combines idealism with common sense. His idealism is expressed in the following sentence: "He [the offender] should be punished only for purposes of reproof and instruction in righteousness; his blood should not be contaminated, his body destroyed, and his spirit broken and brutalized." Common sense in the application of this principle is expressed by the sentence: "There is no one method of treating the offender in order to effect his rehabilitation." The volume is sound in its philosophy, shows in the author both a practical familiarity with present methods and an intelligent reading of history, and is to be heartily commended to all those who are interested in the problem, What should America do to solve the problem and reduce the burden created by its needlessly great criminal population?

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Russian Memories. By Madame Olga Novikoff. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.50.

The vivid pages which make up this volume concern the old régime in Russia. Hitherto we have interpreted the Russians too much in terms of Czarism, autocracy, militarism, bureaucracy; henceforth we shall interpret them in terms of democracy. If we had any fault to find with the text, it would be that it does not concern Russia enough, but is overfull of what certain foreigners think about Russia. Yet a book containing Gladstone's, Disraeli's, Bright's, Carlyle's, Froude's, Tyndall's, and Kinglake's opinions could hardly be uninteresting. In these opinions we see that the author has been a prime factor in bringing about the present friendliness between England and Russia, a necessary friendliness unless the world is to be menaced by a combination embracing Germany, Russia, and Japan. Aside from this, what the author says concerning such of her own countrymen as Dostoevsky, Verestchagin, and Skobelev is of particular moment to the student of Russian life.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

New Thought Christianized. By James M. Campbell, D.D. The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. $1.

Dr. Campbell credits "New Thought"—the common term of a variety of cults—with emphasizing the dignity and worth of human nature. He commends its method of propaganda by constant affirmation of its positive beliefs, and thinks that Christians would profit by doing likewise. But these cults lack an essential element of Christianity. They affirm man's *self*-sufficiency apart from God, of whom, man's indispensable source of sufficiency, they affirm little or nothing.

WAR BOOKS

Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe (The). By Leon Dominian. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $2.

This is an interesting study of applied geography. Linguistic frontiers often divide distinct economic and social conditions, for language exerts a formative influence on nationality—an evident basis for the settlement of some present European boundary conflicts, notably that of Poland. Politically, the author shows that the detachment of Russian Poland might be no loss to Russian unity, and that it would be a gain to Slavic solidarity; while as to Germany, even though there would be a loss of territory ending less than a hundred miles from the German capital, and while a buffer state would further isolate East Prussia from the main mass of the Germans between Germany and Russia, it would nevertheless be the safest guaranty of peace between the two nations. Such a new state, as Mr. Dominian says, should include all the Polish-speaking groups; otherwise it would be merely the prelude to irredentist unrest—precisely what an enlightened world is seeking to prevent.

National Service Library (The). Five volumes. The Collier Classics. P. F. Collier & Son, New York. $3.

An admirable set of volumes, not only for editors and other professional students, but also for lay readers; for now that the Nation has determined to have universal military preparation for National defense the whole Nation should know what that preparation involves. These books are prepared by military experts and deal with such topics as the military resources of the United States, the principles of military training, the rudiments of drill, and the like.

Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation (The). By Thorstein Veblen. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

The interest of this volume centers on the chapter which discusses the manner of league into which the warring nations of the earth must enter if a world peace is to be secured when the present world war is over. The difficulties of such a league are stated with clearness and courage, and the conclusion is reached that it can come only with the "definitive elimination of the Imperial establishment, together with the monarchical establishments of the several states of the [German] Empire and the privileged classes," accompanied by the "removal or destruction of all warlike equipment, military and naval, defensive and offensive." In brief, world peace must be founded on a world democracy. The book is well worth the careful consideration of those especially interested in the various schemes for a permanent international league of peace.

World at War (The). By Georg Brandes. Translated by Catherine D. Groth. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

This is a republication of essays on the war and the events leading up to it; in its spirit essentially pacifist and, if not pro-German, certainly anti-Ally. The book is characterized by the fatal fallacy of the pacifists—the habit of assuming as an axiom what, for the success of the argument, requires demonstration. For example: "Militarism cannot be crushed by militarism, war cannot be driven out of the world by war, oppression by oppression, evil by evil." The sentence assumes that militarism, war, oppression, and evil are synonyms. They are not synonyms. In fact, the only way in which a war of oppression can be driven out of the world is by a war for liberty. Again: "The war must end with an agreement, and, as the real nature of the war is economic, this agreement must be economic." This assumption that the nature of the present war is economic is against the judgment of practically the entire civilized world, which holds it to be, on behalf of the Allies, a war to make the world safe for democracy, and, on behalf of the Central Powers, a war to destroy democracy and substitute imperialism.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.
HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Based on The Outlook of July 11, 1917

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Topic: The New Russian Offensive.
Reference: Pages 390, 391.
Questions:

1. Discuss the bearing of "Russia's return" upon Russia's fidelity to her Revolution, Russia's love for liberty, German intrigues in Russia, and Russia's military potentiality. 2. Write an editorial on Germany's version of the new Russian offensive, which has it that "Russia has yielded to the pressure of the leading Entente Powers and part of her army has been induced to attack." 3. Comment on the following statements: "Without Mr. Kerenski it would be difficult to imagine what the present conditions in Russia might be. The *world* [italics mine] as well as his own country owes him a huge debt of gratitude." 4. Supply the *proof* of the comment that "this greatest war of all history has been remarkable for the paucity of its really great figures." 5. What, in your opinion, are four greatly significant things about the new Russian offensive?

II—FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Topic: Eyes Left! In Russia.
Reference: Pages 399–401.
Questions:

1. Is Mr. Mason correct in saying that "the elimination of the autocracy of Nicholas II in Russia was not a revolution"? What led to the "sheer decay" of the Czar's Government? 2. Does Mr. Mason make clear his point that "the real revolution in Russia is to come, or is just beginning"? 3. Describe what took place in Russia "from the establishment of the first Provisional Government . . . up to the reformation of that Provisional Government." Why were the Radicals dissatisfied with that Government? 4. What do you think of the ideals, the objects, and the methods of the Russian radicals? 5. What has Mr. Mason said about the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates? What do you judge his personal opinion of that Council is? 6. As to Russia's ability to work out her social, political, and military problems, is Mr. Mason a pessimist or an optimist? Which are you? Why? 7. Were you in Russia, what programme would you support? 8. Why Mr. Mason's title to this article, "Eyes Left! In Russia"? (Note—If one wishes to secure a better understanding of contemporary Russian history and be able to appreciate more thoroughly Mr. Mason's articles dealing with the new Russia, let him read carefully the following: References under "Russia" in the indexes of Harding's "New Mediæval and Modern History;" West's "Modern World," Hazen's "Modern European History," Robinson's "Medieval and Modern Times"—all excellent text-books; and also Ogg's "Social Progress in Contemporary Europe," pages 106–110, 119–121, 195–198; Schoonmaker's "The World Storm and Beyond," Chapters II, III; Orth's "Imperial Impulse," Chapter V; Rose's "Nationality in Modern History," Lecture VI; Wells's "What Is Coming," Chapter X—books well worth having in one's library.)

III—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: Railway Rates; The Inter-State Commerce Commission's Decision.
References: Pages 392, 394.
Questions:

1. Tell why the Inter-State Commerce Commission was established. Has the Commission justified its existence? How do its decisions affect the individual citizen and the railways? 2. Explain just how the Commission carries on its work. 3. Do you consider The Outlook correct when it says that the high prices of lumber and flour are due to lack of transportation facilities? 4. What was the Commerce Commission's decision? Had you been a member of it, tell which way you would have voted, giving several reasons. (Read West's "American History and Government," pages 642–652, and consult the index to the American Year Book, 1916.)

B. Topic: On the Distribution of Food.
Reference: Editorial, page 397.
Questions:

1. Discuss whether the saving of the food supply of a nation is a very much larger problem than the production of such supply. Do not take The Outlook's statements for granted. 2. What, in your opinion, constitutes "a proper and scientific method of distribution"? Have we such a system? If not, why not? 3. How many definite illustrations can you give where you believe our Nation "is attempting to save at the bung while it wastes at the spigot"? 4. What is your remedy for the better distribution of food and lower prices?

IV—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. Any ideals are better than none. 2. War is better than diplomatic peace. 3. History shows that all progress is due to radicals and revolutionists.

V—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for July 11, 1917. After looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words.*)

Proclamation, commodities, public carriers, inter-State commerce, competition, horizontal increase, popular liberty, propaganda, liberals, radicals, public opinion, official opinion, pessimist, optimist, *bourgeoisie*, tenacity, workingman, peasant, serf.

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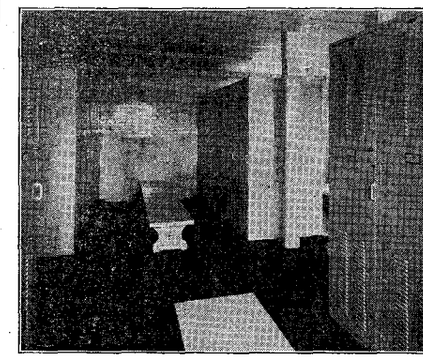

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AMERICA AND ALSACE-LORRAINE

From numerous signs gathered in American periodicals it would seem that this country is now paying to the problems of Alsace-Lorraine an attention which, naturally enough, was nearly absent a few years ago.

Even apart from the political questions connected with the present war, this renewed interest might be justified by good reasons, some of which reach very far. As your readers may be aware, it was to an Alsace-Lorraine gravitating towards French culture or staying under French sovereignty that the United States of America have been indebted.

First, for the origin of that very name America, it being admitted that Mathieu Ringmann, born in a valley of the Vosges Mountains, coined the word which was proposed in 1507 to the learned world by the "college" of scientists and printers working at Saint-Dié.

Second, for the ominous crisis in Lafayette's life which resulted in the French help brought to the insurgents. For it was at Metz, where M. de Lafayette was stationed on military duty in the summer of 1776, that this distinguished Frenchman heard the first news of the Revolution. "The thought came into his head that he would go to America and offer his services to a people who were struggling for freedom and independence." (Sparks.)

Trifling as they may seem, such facts are representative of the real signification of French influence when it prevails in the regions west of the Rhine. Who knows what name Prussian scholarship of the sixteenth century would have proposed for the newly discovered continent? And to imagine the thrill for liberty pervading an officer garrisoned in a Prussianized fortress of Metz is to forget how near that old city is to the celebrated Saverne.

FERNAND BALDENSPERGER,
Professeur à la Sorbonne.

Columbia University,
July 1, 1917.

AN UNCOMMON CORNISH CLERGYMAN

In the account in By the Way of the eccentricities of the Rev. R. S. Hawker, of Cornwall (The Outlook for June 27), some very important facts of his life were omitted.

I was naturally interested in reading of him, as we knew a brother of his and his family, in a neighboring parish which was often our summer resort, a cousin of ours being its vicar. Mr. Hawker was vicar of Morwenstowe, close to Hartland Point, where the coast was very rocky and dangerous for vessels.

He and some of his parishioners kept an open eye on those troubled waters. When they saw a vessel in danger, they quickly started to give all the help in their power. If a wreck had occurred in the dark night, he and his crew would scale the rocks to the point of danger.

His was the only "life-saving crew" in those early days, and many a seaman's life was saved by their arduous work and service. It was the recounting of this hard, Christian work that we used to hear in the neighboring parish. The life must be saved, whether it was a fisherman's or whether it proved to be a smuggler's.

LOUISA A'HMUTY NASH.

Nashville, Oregon.

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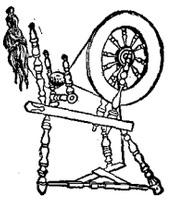

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In spite of the war, the beach and mountain resorts of New Jersey and New England are rapidly filling up.

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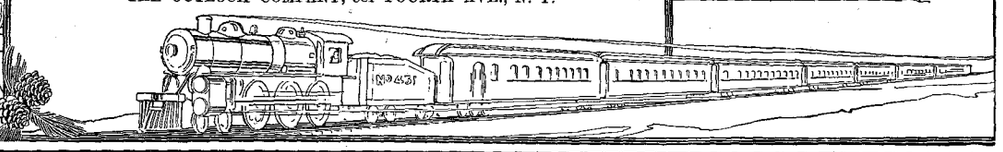

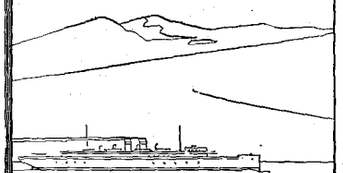

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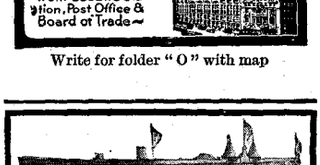

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